DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 270 360 SO 017 176

AUTHOR Smith, Douglas C.
TITLE Academocracy: A Critical Analysis of Higher, Adult and Non-traditional Education in Contemporary Taiwan.
PUB DATE Apr 86
NOTE 187p.
PUB TYPE Reports - Descriptive (141)

EDRS PRICE MF01/PC08 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS Adult Education; *Asian Studies; *Comparative Education; Educational Philosophy; *Foreign Countries; Guidance Centers; Higher Education; *Nontraditional Education; Rural Areas; Rural Education; Schools; Special Education
IDENTIFIERS *Taiwan

ABSTRACT

Traditional and non-traditional educational systems in Taiwan are examined. Section one, "The Confucian Continuum," includes the first seven chapters which discuss Terra Incognita, the intellectual continuum-Chinese educational philosophy, John Dewey, traditional education in Taiwan, academocracy in Taiwan, the Ta-Yuan Hsiang's Community Education System, and entrance exams, past and present. Section two, "Non-Traditional Education in Taiwan," includes chapters 8 through 15. Chapters 8 through 11 discuss the "Teacher Chang" Counseling Center Evening Education: the Taiwan Experience, The Farmers Association and agricultural extension in Taiwan, and 4-H Clubs programs. Chapter 12 emphasizes youth by examining the China Youth Service Association and the Youth Guidance Service. Chapter 13 presents new frontiers in non-traditional education including education-of-the-air and environmental education. Chapter 14 examines the Academia Sinica, and finally, chapter 15 explores special education in Taiwan. (RSL)

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ACADEMEOCRACY:

A CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF HIGHER, ADULT AND NON-TRADITIONAL EDUCATION IN CONTEMPORARY TAIWAN

By

Douglas C. Smith

West Virginia University

Graduate Center

SØ017176

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April 1986

Dedicated to

CATHAY

My Favorite Chinoiserie

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This study was made possible by a grant from the PACIFIC CULTURAL FOUNDATION of Taipei, Taiwan; a travel stiperd from the WEST VIRGINIA UNIVERSITY FOUNDATION; and academic release time from the College of Extension and Continuing Education of West Virginia University. To these three organizations and their leadership I express my gratitude.

I should also like to thank Dr. Edsel Gainer, my boss, for his constant support and encouragement in this and my other research activities; Dr. Jeanne Tchong Koei Li, a scholar and gracious host who, on all occasions, assisted me; Mr. David Chou and Mr. Harrison Yeh for their logistical assistance, their willingness to counsel me, and their friendship; Families Fang, Tang, and Yen, who gave us lovely accommodations and helped make our two visits to island Taiwan so delightful; and Betty Wolf for reading and correcting my manuscript. My wife was my constant companion on all of my research sorties and helped with translation in the interview setting. It is a pleasure also to thank Jewel L. Vaughan for her impeccable work and tenacity in the preparation of this manuscript. Without the commitment of Mrs. Vaughan this book would still be a dream.

Helped by numerous persons who share with me the correctness of my interpretation, I alone accept full responsibility for any and all errors, omissions, and/or faulty perceptions that may appear.

Douglas C. Smith
West Virginia University
at Shepherdstown

PREFACE: MEA CULPA

The thesis of this book is education in Taiwan. Originally I had intended to study and write about that society's nontraditional, informal educational system, but as I became involved with my research and met with numerous Chinese scholars and educators it became apparent that a broader focus would be of greater value. Consequently this work deals with many aspects of Chinese pedagogics, including nontraditional education.

Most books and articles on the subject of China, comparative education, and transcultural analysis are written for a highly selective, elitist audience. It has been suggested that people in academic life write for their scholarly colleagues and not for the general public. I have attempted to present a scholarly work but at the same time to write in such a way that both academicians and the reading public would find meaning in what is before them. To this end, certain liberties have been taken in methodology and style. I have chosen to avoid the use of footnotes in the text and instead have identified the primary and secondary sources used in the notes and bibliography that end each chapter. The traditional footnoting system, though lending scholarly credence to the writing, can be disruptive to both the reader's focus and the pleasure derived from reading. The "Notes" section that concludes each chapter contains all materials used in preparing this work. A comprehensive bibliography is found at the end of the book.

These variations from formal research style do not, I hope, distract from the validity of what is said; they do add to its felicity. Though quantitative research models are currently in vogue, I have made a conscious effort to limit the number of tables and statistical materials. I have also avoided when possible the sesquipedalianistic jargon of the social scientist

and educationalist which more often than not creates an unnecessary barrier between the reader and his material. As a university administrator (working with adults) who was trained in history, I have found that by using an unabstruse, nontechnical writing and vocabulary style the reader is more likely to enjoy the work and enhance his understanding of the material under study.

The Orient has been a subject of fascination for Americans. Hopefully this brief study will contribute to a better understanding of the historical evolution and current status of Chinese education as it exists in Taiwan.

Perhaps those of us involved with educational planning and administration will better be able to evaluate and assess the American education system when we compare it to what exists in other nations. Far Formosa, which is literally on the other side of the world, can tell us a good deal about improving student motivation, the advantages of educational centralization, and the meld of pedagogy and ethics.

PRECIS

The Chinese historically have valued education as one of life's most worthwhile pursuits and the modern-day school system on the island of Taiwan reflects this.*

Since the mid-1960's, when junior high school education was made available to all youngsters in Taiwan, the educational pattern has required six years of elementary school and three of junior high. After completing ninth grade, students sit for a National Examination which determines whether they continue their studies in an academic high school, attend a 5-year teacher normal college, a 3- or 5-year commercial college, or a vocational school. Those who graduate from the academic high school and wish to attend college must again take a highly competititve National Examination given each summer by the Ministry of Education. Approximately 100,000 young people took the 3-day test in 1979; 30 percent passed it and were assigned to a college or university. The score received on the examination determines the field of study and the college or university a student may attend.

Normally four years of course work are required for the BA/BS degree. Advanced scholarship leading to the Master's, M.D., D.D.S., J.D., and Ph.D. degrees is available at selected universities in Taiwan. Nonformal educational opportunities also abound. Centers for language study, theatrics, cooking, computer science, international economics, and remedial programs for adults and young people are found in most communities. A sophisticated national educational television service allows individuals the opportunity to learn vocational skills and even earn junior college degrees. Counseling services and numerous remedial programs for older students pervade the island.

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*Of all nations, Taiwan, next to the U.S., has the largest number of students per capita. (N.Y. Times, Supplement, 6-4-76)

The foundation of the modern Taiwan education experience is closely aligned to the ethical values articulated by Confucius some 2,500 years ago. It was the Sage's belief that through the study of beauty, nature, poetics and science one could cleanse the mind of disorder and in so doing regulate himself and live harmoniously with his peers. The interrelationship of ethics and education remains strongly ingrained in the pedagogy of Taiwan.

Four elements that are important in the educational system of far Formosa are: (1) Teachers and professors are deeply respected. They are seen as the most important class in oriental society. (2) The school is viewed as a vehicle of upward mobility. For thousands of years a youngster by passing the National Examination could eventuate to the highest level of society. Social unrest in China has been relatively limited because of this fluidity in class structure; the poorest family can envisage its son or daughter achieving great success through the educational experience. (3) The National Examination system helps to promote an objective system of advancement based on meritocracy and not on wealth or privilege. (4) Ethics and self-discipline are woven into the fabric of all traditional and nontraditional education experiences. Behavior problems are virtually unknown; teachers have the support of the parents and their school administrators.

In Taiwan, as in Japan, the widely acknowledged importance of a good education brings the teacher, student, and parents together as a team and family life ensures the sanctity of study. Parents oversee their children's home assignments and are requested to sign the papers indicating that the work is satisfactory.

John Dewey, who visited China in 1919-1920, was extremely impressed by the intellectual vividity of Chinese academicians and the geist and determination of the young people. Perhaps Dewey sums up best the present-day Taiwan education experience: "Education is a social process. . . . Education is growth . . . . Education is not preparation for life; education is life itself."

INTRODUCTION

"He who travels far will often see things far from what he believed was truth."

--Herman Hesse

Before leaving for Taiwan I read widely on Asian education and philosophy. Little relevant material written in English is available on most of the topics covered in this book. While in Taiwan, therefore, it was necessary to rely heavily on personal interviews with Chinese professors and intellectuals. I found rather early in the interview process that the less formal the session the more meaningful would be the results. Abandonment of the cassette tape recorder came first. This made a significant change in the atmosphere that was created and added to a healthier, more freewheeling, nondirected dialogue. From the interviews sans the recorder a greater level of spontaneity was evident. Also rather than attempt to take detailed handwritten notes during the interview, I would write down key words or phrases. At the conclusion of the session while the discussions were still fresh in my thought I would write out, based on my brief notes and my memory, lengthy summaries of what had occurred and what was said. When a question of accuracy, interpretation, or corrections cropped up, I would either call or revisit the person with whom I had talked. Clarification was very important, mainly due to my inability to speak Chinese. Though most of the interviewees were fluent in English, certain ambiguities (due to language training) did occur and these were subsequently discussed a second time.

The best interviews tended to occur on the second day of meeting with a person. The constructs and constraints that interface with transcultural

communication tended to be lessened after the interviewee and I had become more understanding of each other's goals, orientation, and style. Tea was served at all meetings and worked as a pleasant vehicle for relaxation and hence understanding and mutual trust. My wife, who is of Chinese ancestry, accompanied me to all of my interviews. Her presence also had a positive effect on the sessions. The Chinese scholars could rely on her to clarify a point that would be hard to express in English; also, her being Chinese seemed to relieve some of the tension that normally would be present in any academic interview setting between a Chinese and an American.

Prior to leaving for Taiwan I developed a series of questions which I used in all interviews, modifying them to conform to the institutional setting I was in. Dr. John Andes, professor of Higher Education Administration, and Dr. Edsel Gainer, director of Off-Campus Graduate Degree Programs and adjunct professor of Adult Education, assisted me in preparing this list. Both men are on the faculty of West Virginia University. Following are the questions that were used in my interviews, which numbered more than fifty over a period of eight weeks:

1. Name of program -- formal and informal
2. Names of director and key personnel
3. Organizational chart -- relationship between chart and real power
4. Financial resources -- from where and what percentages spent on various components of program
5. Intention when program was set up -- current focus. If changed, why?
6. The direction of program 5-10 years from now -- forecast of future
7. Enrollment/studentry profile -- past, current, anticipated
8. Who make up the faculty and what is their training
9. Background and affiliations of chief officers in organization
10. Relationship to Ministry of Education or other governing body
11. Recruitment methods/retention percentage -- why?
12. Educational/placement opportunities after completing program
13. Evaluation of students and assessment of program
14. In-service training for staff and teachers -- licensing or certification

15. How does nation as a whole benefit from this program (impressionistic)?
16. Systems analysis: The published goals -- are they congruent with what is happening? Input -- decision -- activity -- evaluation -- is this process being used?
17. Philosophy of head person -- does the program reflect this?

The responses to these questions, the digression that ensued in the interviews, personal observations, and research materials provided to me by the Ministry of Education, various professors and institutions in Taiwan, and the university libraries of Taiwan have been blended for the content-base for this book.

SECTION I -- THE CONFUCIAN CONTINUUM

INTRODUCTION TO FORMAT

For the corvenience of the reader this book has been divided into two sections:

I. The Confucian Continuum

II. Non-traditional Education in Taiwan

Section I focuses on the historical, traditional, and contemporary education setting. Philosophy, history, academic ethics and excellence, methodology, and policy issues are dealt with and together the chapters are meant to paint a picture of the evolution of academe in the Chinese-Taiwan setting.

Seven chapters make up this section. Though most are based on printed sources, I have attempted to weave into their fabric material distilled from the numerous interviews and informal discussions I had while in Taiwan.

Chapter 1

THE SETTING: TERRA INCOGNITA

When a place is so lovely
I walk slowly
I long to let loveliness drown in my soul.
I like tc touch bird feathers.
I like to count stamens, too
And even weigh their pollen gold.
The grass is a delight to sit on
I do not need wine here because the flowers intoxicate me so.....
To the deep of my bones I love old trees, and the jade-blue waves
of the sea.

-- Tu Fu

Taiwan is an island. Its historical, social, economic, and political evolution cannot be separated from this basic fact and these phenomena must be viewed in the context of an island state. Limited land space, rugged and majestic mountains, excellent seaports, and dense yet isolated populations are the dominant features of Taiwan. The size of Taiwan would compare roughly with the state of West Virginia. Its shape is similar to a huge tobacco leaf with a range of mountains, not dissimilar to the Appalachians, running down the spine. Numerous rivers run from the mountainous center to the seacoast.

Taiwan is located on the Tropic of Cancer, hence its climate is quite mild. The northern part of the region -- the area in which Taipei is located -- is a good deal cooler than the southern area where the second largest city, Kaohsiung, is found. In the winter months Taipei can be in the low 50 degrees; Kaohsiung at the same time will be in the mid-70's. The summer months are hot and humid with the temperature reaching the 90's on a regular basis. Humidity is also rather high in both winter and summer, yet a cool breeze is a common feature of the island which is located in the same

ocean stream that bathes the nation of Japan (700 miles north of Taiwan). Located between Japan and the Philippines and some 250 miles off the coast of Hong Kong and Shanghai, Taiwan plays an important part in the economic and military strategies of Asia.

Numerous peoples have been lured to Taiwan and these groups have played a distinct part in its cultural and historical development. Malayan aborigines, Chinese, Spanish, Dutch, Japanese, and Americans have all either dominated or influenced the island. Historically the island must be considered part of the civilization of China. This is not said in a political framework; rather the overwhelming number of peoples, their language, cuisine, institutions, ethnological posture, and generally their sympathies tie them closely with the mainstream of Chinese civilization and culture.

The peoples of Taiwan today, most of whom were born after 1945 and hence have few direct ties with the Mainland, represent the melting-pot syndrome that we in the U.S. have attempted to develop. Taiwan's population is over 17 million, of which about 14 percent or some two million are "Mainlanders." This term is not used now as much as it was in the past. It refers to those Chinese who came to Taiwan after 1945 when the island was returned from Japan to China. The largest group are the "Taiwanese" who migrated to Taiwan from Fukien Province on the Mainland in the 17th to 19th centuries. Another group often counted as Fukien Taiwanese are the Hakka, who came from Kwangtung Province at about the same time but who speak a distinct dialect. The last group is the native people of Taiwan, the aborigines. Their origins are clouded in some obscurity, but it is suggested that they are not of Mainland Chinese ancestry but rather were seafaring people from the Philippines and/or the Malaysian Peninsula. Like the American Indian, these peoples over

hundreds of years have had their lands taken from them, have been molested by the Europeans and orientals who have visited Taiwan, and today are poor and politically powerless. Their cultural artifacts show a proud, artistic, and industrious people who were excellent fighters and fiercely independent. Their lives today, though improving, cannot be compared in material, health, or formal terms with the Chinese peoples of the island.

When the Portuguese first came to Taiwan in 1590, Linschotten (a Dutch navigator on a Portuguese ship) was so taken with the loveliness of the island, its lush beauty, flowers, butterflies, and beaches, that he called it "Formosa" or "Beautiful Island." This name describes well the land we now call Taiwan.

NOTES

Besides my personal observations of the weather in Taiwan (February-March and July-August) and the topography and demography, I have relied on the following books in writing this chapter:

1. Clough, Ralph N., Island China (Harvard Univ. Press, 1978)
2. Fairbank, John K., et al., East Asia: Tradition and Transformation (Houghton Mifflin Co., 1973)
3. Goddard, W. G., Formosa: A Study in Chinese History (Macmillan, 1966)
4. Hsien, Chaio-min, "The Physical Setting of Taiwan," in Paul K. T. Sih, Taiwan in Modern Times (St. John's Univ. Press, 1973)

Chapter 2

THE INTELLECTUAL CONTINUUM: Chinese Educational Philosophy

Chinese educational philosophy, unlike pedagogic theory of the West, has seldom been studied as a segregated field in itself. Perhaps the best explanation for this is that in the West the various branches of philosophical study lend themselves to isolation and taxonomy; in China the great thinkers have seldom addressed a single area. Rather they have focused on the multi-faceted nature of man and society rather than on one aspect of his existence. To study ethics outside of all other dimensions of philosophy would be anti-thetical to the Chinese intellect. Because all great educators in traditional China were also philosophers, they did not address the question of philosophy vis-a-vis pedagogy in a reductionistic method; rather, a holistic approach has been the forte of Chinese philosophy. Consequently it becomes difficult to isolate the teachings of men like Confucius into areas of concentration. His ideas, like those of other great thinkers in Chinese history, were all-encompassing.

I have attempted, using the main ideas and writings of selected Chinese philosophers, to extract those elements that are relevant to education and to place these in a context that will better allow the reader to understand the foundation upon which modern-day education in Taiwan rests.

An introduction of this type is most successful when a historical/chronological approach is followed. In China, as in the West, the great philosophers were able to interact intellectually with those who came before them. Records of Chinese civilization go back over four thousand years and a philosopher was able, through the systematic study of these writings, to synthesize his original ideas with what previously had been written. This

allowed for criticism, revisionism, and original contributions. All Chinese philosophers were either critics or supporters of previous schools of thought; their ideas, however, became the growing edge of knowledge. When using the historical approach to study Chinese philosophy, we take ideas from a vacuous state and place them in the stream of thought that is the intellectual and cultural foundation of the Orient.

Two extremely important factors that have interfaced with Chinese education and philosophy are: (1) China has historically considered education of great importance; and (2) the place of the pedagogue in Chinese society traditionally has been extremely important. In the West the foundation of civilization, at least since the early middle ages, has been religion; in China education has played this part in the people's moral and ethical lives and has continuously been the ballast for societal evolution. Teachers in China are of greatest importance. In the western societies, homage is paid to the military leader, the entrepreneur, or the adventurer. In the Orient, particularly in China, the educator has been considered the role-model for the young. While we in America celebrate the birthdays of two military leaders (Washington and Lincoln) as our great heroes, the Chinese honor all teachers with great celebrations on Confucius' birthday.

Even today the relative position of teachers in western society is low compared with other professions; yet in China the teacher, who is seen as both a transmitter of information and knowledge and a person of the highest ethical bearing, is viewed at the apex of the social ladder. The treatment accorded him is one of respect and admiration and his thoughts are valued and repeated. Though this type of adulation of the intellectual has created

an elitist view of the scholar, it has also helped to obfuscate rigid class lines. The scholar could achieve his lofty position through fair competitive exams open to virtually all male members of the society through the government-sponsored examination system. Social and economic mobility have also been part of Chinese society. Perhaps the knowledge that any man, be he of the poorest or richest families, could achieve great success through fairly and honestly administered examinations has helped limit social unrest in China and made it the most successful and enduring of civilizations.

Chinese history is divided into dynasties. The discussion of Chinese educational philosophy will likewise be approached in this manner.

The Golden Age of Chinese educational philosophy was in the age of the Chou Dynasty. Two distinctly different schools arose in this era: Confucianism and Taoism. Lao-tse, the founder of the Taoist group, believed that the main evil that had fallen on society was its quest for materialistic betterment. Like Henry David Thoreau, Lao-tse believed that man should emulate nature, abandon his greed for wealth, and return to the perfect pre-gregarious state. Perhaps the best example of the thinking of Lao-tse is found in this passage:

> All things in nature work silently. They come into being and possess nothing. They fulfill their function and make no claim. All things alike do their work, and then we see them subside. When they have reached their full bloom each returns to its origin. Returning to their origin means rest or fulfillment of destiny. This reversion is an eternal law. To know that law is wisdom.

Also, according to the philosophy of Lao-tse: "The softest thing in the world dashes against and overcomes the hardest. . . . There is nothing in the world softer or weaker than water, and yet for attacking things that are firm and strong there is nothing that can take precedence of it." (Will Durant, Our Oriental Heritage, pp 655-6).

This complex philosophy that calls upon man to forsake physical prowess, to acquire spiritual strength, and to abandon material wealth to have a harmonious and peaceful relationship with the greatest source of sustenance -- nature -- became one of the mainstays for Chinese intellectual life. As the Tao was to suggest, "He who knows the Way (possesses knowledge and wisdom) does not speak about it; he who speaks about it does not know it."

It is said that Confucius had the opportunity at a rather young age to meet Lao-tse and was deeply impressed by his intellect.

Confucius was himself to become the foremost sage in Chinese history. Born in 551 B.C., he is considered the greatest of educators and the most brilliant of men.

It was Confucius' belief that the purpose of education was to cultivate decency and benevolence in his fellow human. "The benevolent man, wishing to establish himself, seeks also to establish others; wishing to attain dignity himself, he seeks also to make others attain dignity." In this statement Confucius is suggesting that it is of greater importance to teach ethical and moral values to the young than to educate them in information. The emphasis should be on well-rounded scholarship. Consequently Confucius made poetry, writing, rites, and music the four basic areas to study. Confucius also developed a methodology of pedagogy. He first urged that teachers consider the students' individual needs. In this regard he said, "Chiu is retiring and slow, therefore I urge him forward. Yu has the energy of two men; therefore I kept him back." He also emphasized the developmental approach to learning. "I do not explain to one who is not eager to get knowledge, nor help out anyone who is not anxious to inquire. If I have presented one corner of a subject to anyone and he cannot infer the other

three from it, I will not repeat the lesson." In terms of personality development, Confucius suggested that if proper regard is shown to one's fellow-man, order and discipline are unnecessary for a natural orderliness exists in all things.

Perhaps the most important and enduring of all of Confucius' values was the concept of "education without discrimination." Before Confucius, the aristocratic elite in China perpetuated their governmental positions. Because of his view that all men should have an equal and fair chance to succeed in education, the concept of the open, fair examination was to develop. Through the examination system the common people could compete for government jobs and hence participate in the government. This created an openness in China and enhanced social mobility within the society. The absence of strict caste or class structure has perhaps minimized in China a good deal of the social and class conflict that has prevailed through much of European history.

Chou, Shu-Kai, former ambassador from China to the U.S., made this observation of Confucius:

> The basic factor underlying Confucius' zeal for good education was his conviction that human nature is inherently good, and that men are most alike at birth and only become different by habits . . . they acquire through learning or lack of learning. His concern was to ensure that the pursuit of knowledge would lead his students to select that which was good. Thus he viewed his function as an educator as well as an ethical and moral teacher. He characterized himself as a mentor whose duty was 'to take notes of things in silence, to treasure up knowledge despite much study, and never to weary of teaching others.' (Chou, Shu-Kai, Confucius. The Ideal Teacher, p. 3.)

Will Durant takes this concept further:

> The success of Confucius was posthumous, but complete. His philosophy had struck a practical and political note that endeared it to the Chinese after death had removed the possibility of his insisting upon its realizations. Since men of letters never quite reconcile themselves to being men of letters, the literati of the

> centuries after Confucius attached themselves sedulously to his doctrine as a road to influence and public employment, and created a class of Confucian scholars destined to become the most powerful group in the empire. Schools sprang up here and there for the teaching of the master's philosophy as handed down by his disciples . . .; and these schools, as the intellectual centers of China, kept civilization alive during centuries of political collapse, much as the monks preserved some measure of ancient culture, and some degree of social order during the dark ages that followed the fall of Rome. (Durant, Our Oriental Heritage, p 674.)

About one hundred years after Confucius' death in 479 B.C., another great scholar was to appear in Chinese history. He, like Confucius, synthesized the various fields of philosophy into a meaningful, holistic statement. Mencius was, and is, considered the successor to the educational philosophy of Confucius and, like the master, believed that human nature, if allowed to develop spontaneously, would be good and loving. Like his intellectual mentor, Mencius presented an extremely secular doctrine. He was less concerned with the metaphysical and more concerned with ethics and societal issues. Government, he believed, should remain in the hands of the educated for they were less concerned with materialism and profit and more interested in beauty and rightness. Mencius felt that by developing the natural inner goodness of man it would ferment and mature and be perpetuated through the society and history. His main contribution to education was his talent for taking the philosophical postulates of Confucius and making them politically and pedagogically understandable and feasible. As Han Yu, a Tang Dynasty scholar, pointed out: "Mencius was the man who began to interpret authoritatively the doctrine of the sage [Confucius]."

With most important schools of thought there develops a revisionist or counter school. This was the case with the doctrine of Confucius and Mencius. Led by Hsun-tse, an outstanding scholar in his own right, this new position differed on the nature and motivation of man much as Rousseau

would disagree with Hobbes. Mencius and Confucius had suggested that the nature of man was good; Hsun-tse believed that it was evil and was hence in need of control through externally administered law and order. Self-centeredness, power lust, and jealous nature were the characteristics that made up Hsun-tse's man. The way Hsun-tse suggested that man be modified to become a valuable member of society was through education and the use of rites (mores). Evil could be minimized by having good teachers set examples and by creating a framework that would limit the natural negative instincts of humankind.

If we tried to see these four scholars in terms of contemporary models of psychoanalytical thought, we could say that Confucius is represented by the ideas of Carl Rogers and the Rogerian school, Mencius by Sigmund Freud, Hsun-Tse by the Pavlovian and Skinnerian schools, and Lao-tse by the psycho-metaphysicalism of Carl Jung.

"Mo Ti loved all men and would gladly wear out his whole being from head to heel for the benefit of mankind." This statement was made by Mencius, who was not an admirer of the philosopher Mo Ti. Though his logical abilities have been criticized, his contribution to humanistic thought is important to the study of Chinese pedagogy. His basic premise was that only universal love could solve social problems and the extrapolation of this view vis-a-vis education was that the school should be the source of love and kindness. Mo Ti stated his philosophy in a simple way:

1. Where to find the foundation? Find it in the study of the experiences of the wisest men of the past.
2. How to take a general survey of it? Examine the facts of the actual experience of the people.
3. How to apply it? Put it into law and governmental policy, and see whether or not it is conducive to the welfare of the state and the people.

One of the most influential educational philosophers during the Han and Tang dynasties (200 B.C. to 900 A.D.) was Tung Ching-shu. His major contribution was in developing the concept of a government-organized education system. It was Tung's belief that Confucianism should be the model for the methodology and substance of the new schools. Because of Tung Ching-shu and his influence upon the government of the time, the classics of Confucius have been the foundations of Chinese learning and the subject area most stressed in the civil service and imperial examinations (until the formation of the Republic).

The bases of Chinese educational philosophy were laid by these men. Over the years, during the Sung, Yuan, Ming, and Ching dynasties (1000 A.D. to 1911), other scholars were to contribute, to refine, and to challenge the framework that was developed, but the substance was to remain essentially the same -- the classics of Confucius as refined by Mencius were to dominate the literary establishment until the fall of the Manchu.

A number of other philosophers who made contributions to education will briefly be mentioned. It is with full knowledge that these great scholars are being discussed in a superficial manner, yet their contribution, relative to the individuals already discussed, was cosmetic.

During the latter years of the Tang, Han Yu, a Confucian philosopher, stated the view that structured education could make the wise person wiser and assist in reducing crime, for only the unwise desire the life of criminality. He greatly emphasized the value of the educational experience as a purifier of the soul and spirit. Hu Yuan, a Sung scholar, called for the division of learning into the departments of classics (Confucian) and government. He also stressed the need for recreation, particularly music

and walking in the mountains for solace, as part of the well-developed student's intellectual needs.

Chu Hsi (late Sung era) contributed to educational philosophy by compiling the Analects of Confucius and the Book of Mencius. These became the official sources for examination study from the Sung to the end of the Ching period. These works are still seen in virtually all Chinese homes in Taiwan and America and continue to be studied in literature and philosophy classes in the universities of Formosa.

The Yuan era was one of foreign domination for China. The Mongols controlled the government and instituted their harsh values on the subtle and sophisticated Chinese. Little educational development is recorded in this era though art and poetics did flourish. One seeing the artistic works of this age does sense a decline in the refinement of the Tang and Sung; yet the art works of the Yuan, particularly the scroll paintings and advancement in calligraphy, are bold, mysterious, and stunning. The Chinese who were forced to extricate themselves from the positions of governmental leadership put their intellectual energies to work in other areas. Art of this era, though not having the refinement of the Tang and Sung, was noteworthy in its excellence. A review of the political leadership of the Mongols indicates that as foreign rulers they were, during most of the 100-year domination, authoritarian but relatively just.

It was during the Ming and Ching periods (the two dynasties that followed the Yuan) that the traditional educational setting developed. This system for learning and perpetuating the ideals of Confucius was to last essentially unchanged until the founding of the Republic and the introduction of missionary schools and western methodology.

The system provided a method whereby nearly any man, from the poorest family or the most affluent, could eventuate to a position in the civil service aristocracy. Hence the democratic educational system, based on talent rather than heredity, could elevate a pauper's son to the highest position in society and civil government. The aristocracy in China was made up of those who had reached governmental positions through numerous competitive local, district, and imperial examinations. This method gave China outstanding government for thousands of years.

Education in traditional China began at the local level. A group of parents would employ a teacher to work with the young men of the village -- either in small groups or on a tutorial basis. These schools were entirely private; they had no affiliation with the state and/or religious denominations. They were, needless to say, of varying quality, depending on the character of the teacher and the intelligence of the students. Discipline then (and now) in China was never a problem. Education was an honor and a privilege; it led to the good life and, like all honors with tangible rewards, was seldom abused by the participants.

The students in these small schools spent hours of hard work studying the classics, the writings of Confucius and Mencius, the poetry and arts of the T'ang, and morals and ethics. Generally they would be in class for eight to ten hours per day. Lunch and recreation breaks were short and a portion of time was spent in archery and horsemanship, two disciplines considered by Confucian scholars to be in harmony with the more academic subjects. The methodology of the teaching/learning process consisted of copying the great texts of the past, interpreting them and memorizing those portions relevant to the times, and passing the inevitable district examinations.

This method of learning, it was felt, would acquaint the student with what was pure, beautiful, and proven; it also, in theory, allowed even the most lowly young person the opportunity to succeed if he were willing to make the effort to develop his mind and to compete. Though there was little fun associated with this early phase of one's education and although it is not dissimilar to the "survival of the fittest" syndrome that at one time prevailed in most educational systems in the West, it did give all a chance to pass the examination and thence begin preparing for the next challenge -- another regional examination. As Will Durant has said: "The graduate /of these village schools/ emerged with little information and much understanding, factually ignorant and mentally mature."

After completing the local school, the young man would continue his education (if he had shown that he had the intellectual skills) at one of the few and poorly developed "colleges" of the nation or under the auspices of a master tutor who was thought to be proxy to the methods of learning and passing the next examination.

The concept that provided the philosophical base for Chinese education was this: that education -- that is, the study of purity, ethics, poetry, and other forms of beauty -- would cleanse the soul and consequently prepare a person for effective governmental leadership. The isolation of scholarship precluded the temptations of the secular world and in so doing created men who, when they came to power, would rule without material or personal ambition. Democracy of opportunity in education would lead to an elite aristocracy, and this aristocracy would govern according to a value system based on the classics.

The district examinations were held periodically for all males of any age. The tests were mainly in three areas: (1) An understanding of Confucius; (2) the ability to recite verbatim the master's works; and (3) the ability to integrate these to the satisfaction of the examiners. Memorization was the only conceivable method of passing the test, and most did not pass. A student could, however, attempt the exam a second time after intensive restudy. Often this was not the case; the psychological damage done by the first failure frequently prevented even the ablest young man from facing the examination twice. If one passed the test he would receive the degree of Hsui ts'ae, which allowed a person greater employment and social options. He would then be eligible for a low civil service job. More importantly, it entitled the ambitious to continue their studies and prepare for the next exam.

At the highest level of examination the student (who could be anywhere from 30 to 80 years of age) would travel to Peking, where under the strictest observation he would take a three-day test in the Imperial Examination Hall. By this time he had passed numerous other preliminary exams but none compared to this ordeal. At times 10,000 men, of all ages and from all provinces of China, would write poetry, interpret Confucius and morality, and delve into the higher realm of metaphysics. Those few who passed this test and also survived the draconian emotional and physical torment associated with the system were entitled to the highest civil service offices of the Empire. Prestige and great financial interest for the man's district and village (which as a group would sometimes sponsor the gifted for a life of scholarship) were the rewards. His success in government would mean betterment for his village and district.

The last Chinese educational philosopher who will be discussed here (he is also mentioned in the chapter "Enter John Dewey") is Hu Shih. I have a personal empathy toward this scholar for a number of reasons. He made numerous contributions that helped bridge the gap twixt scholars of the East and West; his ideas were a synthesis of the values of the Orient and America; he assisted in the democratization of education in China; and, on a personal level, I had the privilege of spending a day at his lovely home (now a museum) at Academic Sinica in Taipei. The home remains as it was when Hu Shih died in the early 1960's, and visiting the house, perusing and studying his books and papers, and seeing the memorabilia of his life has allowed me to sense a personal and deeply felt respect for this brilliant and gentle scholar.

In the 1920's and 1930's many western intellectuals were rediscovering the greatness of the Orient, particularly the 'spiritual values' of China, e.g., the family structure. It was Hu Shih who vigorously pointed out that the Orient was far behind the West; that Chinese education needed to be redesigned based on models found in America and Europe; and that for China to rest upon its protracted and splendid history would lead only to its further debasement and decline. He suggested that Confucius was an "old man" and that to develop into a great society China would have to learn from nations that it had traditionally considered barbarous. Yet Hu Shih never abandoned his heritage; he called for reform and refinement based on the ideas of men like John Dewey, John Maynard Keynes, and Bertrand Russell. It was Hu Shih who stated that the real problem of improving Chinese education and society was this:

> How can we best assimilate modern civilization in such a manner as to make it congenial and congruous and continuous with the civilization of our own making.
> (Hu Shih, Development of the Logical Method in Ancient China, Shanghai, 1922, pp 7-8)

Hu Shih also devoted his indefatigable efforts to helping change the literary direction of China by standardizing the written Chinese language into "Pai Hua" or common spoken Mandarin. His use of this language style in his extensive writing assisted greatly the concept of China as a community capable of reading the same language even if it spoke many dialects.

Hu Shih was to spend his life attempting to preserve those qualities that had made Chinese education and civilization the most successful on earth and alter those which, in the first half of the 20th century, were retarding China's progress and making her vulnerable to external dangers and internal despair.

NOTES

A number of sources were used in developing this chapter on Chinese educational philosophy. In the early 1970's the government, along with numerous private organizations in Taiwan, initiated the "Chinese Cultural Renaissance." Though this movement did not realize the high expectations set out for it, numerous scholarly books and articles were published. The Council of the Chinese Cultural Renaissance published a collection of essays in An Introduction to Chinese Culture (Taipei, 1977). From these much information has been gleaned about Chinese educational philosophy, the topic addressed in this section. Chiang Monlin's excellent book, Chinese Culture and Education: An Historical and Comparative Survey (The World Book Co., 1917 and 1963) was also of value. This book with its many and often detailed footnotes and analysis was the first systematic work on Chinese educational philosophy to be published in English. Will Durant's study, Our Oriental Heritage, (Simon and Schuster, 1935) has also been of assistance to me in understanding Chinese philosophy, history, and civilization.

Three short yet valuable works on Confucius are K. M. Tang, Educational Ideas of Confucius (Youth Books, 1970), Chen Li-Lu, Why Confucius Has Been Reverenced as the Model Teacher of All Ages (St. Johns Univ. Press, 1976), and Chou Shu-Kai, Confucius, the Ideal Teacher (St. Johns Univ. Papers in Asian Studies No. 13, 1966). These booklets were of value in writing this chapter. Other sources used are noted in the text of this chapter.

Chapter 3

ENTER JOHN DEWEY

One morning at breakfast I was introduced to a visiting professor at Tunghai University in Taichung. He and his wife and my wife and I were all residing at the university's Tang dynasty style guest house. Prof. Yi-Pao Mei, age 82, was a visiting senior scholar in humanities and philosophy at Tunghai. His education, as he related it to me, had begun in northern China where he attended traditional Chinese-missionary schools. Upon completion of his precollege years he transferred to Oberlin College in Ohio and then to the University of Chicago which awarded him his Ph.D. in philosophy in the late 1920's. He is currently professor emeritus in philosophy at Iowa State University. As part of Dr. Mei's predoctoral studies he visited Columbia University on numerous occasions in the 1920's to hear John Dewey speak and lecture.

John Dewey, America's most famous and respected philosopher and educational theorist, was a great influence in the development of modern pedagogy and curriculum design in China. He spent two years (May 1, 1919 to July 11, 1921) in the Orient and his lectures on education were so successful that they were reproduced in Chinese newspapers and immediately put into booklet form. They have only recently (1973) been retranslated to English, the language in which they were originally delivered.

At the numerous breakfast meetings I had with Dr. Mei we spoke about Dewey and why he influenced Chinese philosophy and education so greatly and why men like Bertram Russell, who also visited China in the early 1920's, had such a small impact.

I phrased my questions this way: Was Dewey's great popularity with the Chinese due to (1) his personality (which was very pleasant and gentle), (2) the historical period in which he was in China (the 1920's were full of governmental and social changes -- the dynasty system fell and the republic was established), or (3) did his philosophy meld with Chinese traditional thought (Confucianism)?

Dr. Mei indicated that all three were important but by far the main reason for Dewey's success as an educational philosopher while in China was his philosophy, which Prof. Mei said "was so in step with Chinese tradition and history that Dewey was referred to by we students as the American Confucius."

My conversations with Senior Professor Mei whetted my appetite to learn more of Dewey and his influence on China's education system and accordingly the current educational arrangement in Taiwan. Numerous educational leaders with whom I spoke concurred with Dr. Mei; the ideas of John Dewey are taught and emphasized today in the teacher education training program throughout Taiwan.

In 1919 after spending a moderately successful three months as a lecturer and adviser in Japan at the Imperial University of Tokyo, John Dewey, who was on leave from Columbia, accepted invitations from a number of China's best universities to lecture. (Dewey's main complaint about Japan was its antiliberal bias.) His wife, Alice Chapman Dewey, accompanied him on his oriental sojourn, as did his daughter, Lucy.

The Deweys arrived at Shanghai on April 30, 1919 and with the help of interpreters and friends spent their first few weeks sightseeing. Dewey was to become particularly fond of the Chinese people, their good naturedness,

and their extreme courtesy. He summed up the temperament of the Chinese whom he met on the streets and at shops in this way: "Live and let live is the response to crowded conditions. If things are fairly well off, then let well enough alone. If they are evil, endure them rather than run the risk of making them worse by interference." (George Dykhuizen, The Life and Mind of John Dewey, p.195).

Early in Dewey's tenure in China he had the opportunity to meet Dr. Sun Yat-sen, the founder of the modern Republic of China. Their discussions centered on the philosophical topic of "knowing" and "doing." The prevailing reactionary Chinese axiom on change was summed up by Dr. Sun as follows: "To know is easy; to act is difficult." Sun's view and one that was supported by Dewey in their lengthy conversations were quite the opposite. As Dr. Sun was to write in his book On Psychological Reconstruction, "To know is difficult but to do is easy." Before publishing this major work he conferred with Dewey who concurred with this pre-active-oriented position. This new theory was to have a patulous impact on intellectual Chinese society. (For a detailed review of this meeting, see T. C. Ou, Dewey's Influence on China's Efforts for Modernization, St. John's Papers in Asian Studies No. 24, St. Johns Univ, 1978, p.11.)

It seems difficult to believe, but not until 1973 were Prof. John Dewey's numerous Chinese lectures published in English. Robert Clopton and Tsiun-chen Ou at that time took the lecture series that had been widely read and studied in Chinese and translated them back into English. The book, John Dewey: Lectures in China, 1919-1920, (Univ. of Hawaii Press, 1973) contains all of the original works of Dewey's Sinica sojourn as they have been retranslated into their original language, English. (The original notes have long been lost.)

When Dewey spoke at universities or student unions, a number of Chinese students who were fluent in English interpreted the lectures in the Chinese language. Dewey's notes would be given to these students to assist them in their transcription and translation. Others would transcribe them for publication in journals and newspapers. One of these scholars was Hu Shih, who was to become a leading intellectual in 20th century China and a fervent supporter of Deweyan thought. Hu Shih had been a favorite student of Dewey's at Columbia and had been converted to the philosophy of instrumentalism while there. As one of the earliest and most articulate spokesmen for educational pragmatism and cultural ethical relativism, Hu Shih was to be in the vanguard of every major intellectual movement in China until his death in the mid-1960's. Academia Sinica, a major research institute in Taipei, was founded by Hu Shih; a delightful park near the research center is named after this important scholar, and his home on the grounds of Academic Sinica has been preserved as it was on his last day. Visiting the home of Hu one is struck by the photographs of a middle-aged John Dewey and a youthful Hu Shih. These and other mementos of their famous friendship are in the home and the museum that is attached to the house.

It would be quite impossible to review all of Dewey's Chinese lectures. They ranged in topic from "Social and Political Philosophy" to "Ethics" to "Modern Trends in Education." Over sixty major lectures were delivered and they were to become a catalyst for intellectual and social change in China. Dewey's main contribution, though, was in the area of education. At National University in Peking Dewey was awarded an honorary Ph.D. The rector of the university, Dr. Fai Yuan-pei, in making the presentation referred to Dewey as the "Second Confucius"; the students and faculty in the audience are said to

have applauded for a lengthy time expressing their sincere approval of this accolade (Dykhuizen, The Life and Mind of John Dewey, p.197).

To review his lectures would be infeasible; to sum up his philosophy vis-a-vis China is possible. A recurring theme that Dewey stressed during all of his oriental lectures series was that the purpose of traditional, classical philosophy, be it in ethics or pedagogy, was to perpetuate the concept of fixed values in all areas of life and then apply human reason to justify the inflexibility of standards of right and wrong. Dewey emphasized that man had moved far ahead in the areas of science, technology, industrial development, and thought. Evolution, the ideas of psychology, and other new paths of concern now allowed man to think in terms of what was specific, humane, and changeable. He emphasized the need to rely more on individual thought and less on traditional authority and societal organization. The idea and value of change, experimentation, and reevaluation of traditional concepts, progress, and a continuation of a bettering society for man were the bulwark of Dewey's ideals; knowledge of nature, he believed, would allow mankind to control her and through this control achieve progress and continued self-perpetuating growth. His philosophy ran counter to the mores of Chinese society which for thousands of years had followed what one could call intellectual reactionaryism (Dykhuizen, The Life and Mind of John Dewey, p.180-191).

Concrete thought rather than evasive abstractiveness were needed if practical solutions to China's and the world's practical problems were to be achieved. In his lectures on education Dewey made a series of statements on the proper attitute toward the raging conflict in China between the traditional cultural pillars and new ideas. He believed that schools should adopt four values that would meld the old and the new: (1) open-mindedness,

(2) purposiveness, (3) social and personal responsibility, and (4) appreciativeness.

Education and ethics were interwoven for Dewey. This did not escape the Chinese intellectuals who also saw the teacher as both a transmitter of information and a standard-bearer of ethical and moral righteousness. One must remember that China's greatest teacher -- Confucius -- was the persona magnus of ethics, intellect, and pedagogy.

When commenting on ethics, Dewey stated that it was an attribute of environmental circumstances. Consequently ethical and moral behavior were not of transcending fixity but varied with the demands of the society. Ethical relativism, a new standard to judge morality, was the basis of Dewey's message. He attempted, using that model, to explore the differences between the moral posture of the Eastern and Western civilizations. His conclusion was this: "(1) American and Western ethical thought is more concrete, more practical, while Eastern ethical thought is more abstract and more intellectual; (2) Western morality is based on individuality, while Eastern morality is based on family; (3) Western morality respects the right of the individual, while Eastern morality [in a relative sense] ignores it" (T. C. Ou, Dewey's Influence, p.8).

John Dewey's influence on the modernization of Chinese education cannot be fully and quantifiably ascertained. Prof. T. C. Ou, former president of New Asia College of Hong Kong, has stated this:

> The influence of Dewey on Chinese education is general and even total. It was brought about by conferences with educators while Dewey was himself in China and also by his publications, almost all of which have been translated into Chinese and by outstanding students, who are the leaders of Chinese education. Among these are Chiang Monlin, ex-minister of education and rector of National University of Peking; Hu Shih, an ardent pragmatist, who inspired the movement for a New Culture, and who was also a

> professor there at the time, and P. W. Kuo, the ex-rector of the National Southeastern University, Nanking. The renown and activity of these men have been very influential in bringing about popular acceptance of Dewey's teaching and putting it into practice.
>
> (Prof. Thomas Berry, quoted in T. C. Ou, Dewey's Influence on China's Efforts for Modernization, p. 12)

The specific areas in which Dewey's writings and lectures on Chinese education in Taiwan (a place he never visited though he did go to Fukien Province which from the Mainland is closest to Taiwan) can be seen in both the theoretical and the practical. When considering the theoretical dimensions of Dewey on China one can point to the fact that his textbooks, most of which were translated into Chinese, were required reading in most Chinese teachers' colleges (and still are). Democracy and Education was in general use in all normal universities and in Taiwan is still considered a classic. Also his Chinese students from Columbia carried forth his message and influenced greatly the intellectual climate in educational circles through Asia. Practical application of Dewey's principles of education and curriculum content were also adopted. Chiang Monlin was an early convert to Deweyan ideals and, while at the Ministry of Education, helped schools be "the cultivation of perfect personality and the development of democratic spirit."

The public school system of China was made to conform to the American model with the 6-3-3 plan adopted. The goals of the new schools were (1) to promote democracy at all levels, (2) to help foster the notion of social evolution, (3) to take the economic status of people into consideration, (4) to promote education as a period of preparation for life, (5) to allow the school a degree of autonomy and flexibility at the local level, and (6) to use the school as a laboratory for life in society.

Child centeredness, pragmatic-instrumentalism, and continuing experimentation in education were to become part of the Chinese educational experience and these can be traced to Dewey's influence. Also Dewey was a strong advocate of textbooks written in Kuo-Yu or the spoken language, believing that this would help democratize the classroom.

Dr. Tsuin-chen Ou sums up the influence of John Dewey on Chinese education development in these words:

> In conclusion, we may say that Dewey has contributed to China's modernization intellectually and educationally. Through his intellectual influence the Chinese new cultural movement has culminated in a number of constructive achievements in improving moral, political and social institutions and practices in the process of modernizing China. Dewey did not offer any concrete program for those improvements. But he offered a reflective method of thinking, an intellectual tool for modernizing the old China with so heavy a burden of old tradition. To be modern, Dewey did not advocate, as assumed by some historians of Chinese history, the overthrow of all the old Chinese culture and the acceptance of Western culture as a whole without any discrimination. What he contributed to China's modernization was his persuasion of the Chinese to strike a balance between the Chinese and Western cultures by means of a method of reflective thinking. His concurrence with Dr. Sun's view of the relationship between knowing and doing was also based upon his pragmatic method of knowledge.
>
> Dewey's influence on Chinese education is universally acknowledged. Through the modernization of education he helped China's modernization in other aspects. Since the promulgation of the new school system which was inspired by Dewey's teaching, China has produced tens of thousands of people with modern training and modern spirit, who have helped modernize China in all aspects and in all levels. Although Dewey's fame and prestige have not been fully revived in the United States, yet his contribution to China's modernization is still and will always be remembered.
>
> (Dewey's Influence on China's Efforts for Modernization, pp. 16-17)

Perhaps a person's importance can be deduced by the intensity of his detractors. In the early 1950's the leading Chinese educators in Communist China launched a steady high-powered campaign against Dewey and the ideas of pragmatism. As quoted in Hu Shih's article, "John Dewey in China" (Philosophy and Culture: East and West, p.66), a Chinese Communist

education administrator writing in "Peoples Education" (Peking, Oct. 1959) stated: "If we want to criticize the old theories of education we must begin with Dewey. The educational ideas of Dewey have dominated and controlled Chinese education for thirty years and his social philosophy and his general philosophy have also influenced a part of the Chinese people."

Though the statue of Confucius stands at the entrance of all universities and colleges in China, one suspects that a likeness of John Dewey would also be appropriate, for he more than any modern-day man helped to make the ideals of Chinese pedagogics in Taiwan what they are today.

NOTES

The sources relied upon to develop this chapter were:

Seven interviews with Dr. Yi-Pao Mei, Senior Overseas Scholar and Visiting Professor, Tunghai Univ., 1979-80,at Tunghai Univ., March, 1980; Dykhuizen, George, The Life and Mind of John Dewey (Southern Illinois Univ. Press, 1973); Ou, T. C., Dewey's Influence on China's Efforts for Modernization (St. Johns Papers in Asian Studies, No. 24, St. Johns Univ., 1978); Clopton, Robert and Ou, T. C., John Dewey: Lectures in China, 1919-1920 (Univ. of Hawaii Press, 1973); and Hu Shih, "John Dewey in China" in Philosophy and Culture: East and West (Univ. of Hawaii Press, 1962).

Though materials in great quantity exist on Dewey and his travels in Asia, they are still in the Chinese language. National Normal University in Taipei and the National Taiwan University have the best collections of these books, periodicals, dissertations, and manuscripts.

Chapter 4

TRADITIONAL EDUCATION IN TAIWAN: AN EARLIER AGE

Little is written about Taiwan education in the period before and during the Japanese occupation (pre-1945). Perhaps the best account was presented by George Leslie MacKay, Doctor of Divinity, Princeton University. Dr. MacKay spent much of his life working with the people of Taiwan, and his delightful and scholarly personal account, From Far Formosa, tells about his observations. In this writer's research on education on that island, no book found matches Dr. MacKay's general reminiscences for beauty, clarity, and honesty. MacKay begins his first page with these words:

> Far Formosa is dear to my heart. On that island the best of my years have been spent. There the interest of my life has been centered. I love to look up to its lofty peaks, down into its yawning chasms, and away out on its surging sea. . . . There I hope to spend what remains of my life, and when my day of service is over I should like to find a resting-place within sound of its surf and under the shade of its waving bamboo.
> (MacKay, George Leslie, From Far Formosa, p.13)

As part of his study Dr. MacKay mentions only briefly the structure and methodology of pedagogy. The period about which he writes is from the mid-1860's to 1890, the years that he was in Formosa. Though not an academic source per se, like French scholar Alex de Tocqueville's masterly inquiry into democracy in America, MacKay's book does shed a great deal of light on a foreign nation. Education is discussed vividly yet briefly in his study.

MacKay indicates that education in Taiwan was an important part of Chinese culture and had been for at least a thousand years. The competitive examination that all young men could take was the method for academic, social, and economic advancement. These exams were given periodically at the major cities of China (at Taipei and Tainan in Taiwan) and the scores were well publicized through the district, usually by posting them on a wall

board (a method still used in Taiwan). Passing these tests gave one the opportunity to seek appointments in government, education, or other governmentally controlled sectors of society. The exams, which culminate with the "great exam" held in Peking, focused primarily on the writings and ideas of the philosophers of Chinese society, particularly Confucius and Mencius; the sessions were grueling and the success ratio among these highly competitive students was quite low. In Taiwan the educational system was a powerful instrument for academic achievement. Few schools existed and tutoring was the main way that a youngster from the provinces could learn the materials necessary to succeed on the national examination. Also, few of the successful scholars who went to Peking to take the exam would, upon passing it, return to Taiwan, a province that was not considered as progressive economically or socially as areas on the Mainland, particularly the region of Shanghai.

The teachers in Taiwan during this period were often men who had been candidates for the higher degrees but had failed and then returned to their home island. These men made up Formosa's intelligensia and were employed by worthy families to teach the young boys. Also, a patronage system existed whereby a wealthy family would assist a less fortunate family in sending its bright son to tutoring sessions. This highly informal system -- not sanctioned by government or philanthropic agencies -- hurt the academic system of Taiwan. Many advantages found on the Mainland were simply not available on the island.

Dr. George L. MacKay describes in some detail the excitement surrounding education circa 1890:

> A Chinese school is the scene of great industry and of great noise. The students all study aloud, and their shrill drawling voices make a disagreeable babel. The text-books are the Chinese classics, and the parents have no cause of complaint on the score of frequent change. The books never change from century to century.

> The characters are first learned; but it is purely mechanical work, not the slightest attention being paid to the meaning of the words. The book-language is entirely different from the vernacular, and the boy has to commit to memory pages, and even whole books, without understanding anything of their significance. After years of such severe work the boys begin to prepare definitely for the competitive examinations. There is nothing really educative in the system. Unconsciously the style and sentiments of the books are absorbed, but originality, in either thought or expression, is not only undesirable, but utterly impossible.
>
> When a young man succeeds in passing the examinations for even the lowest degree, preparations on a most elaborate scale are made at his home for honoring him on his return. No one but an eye-witness can imagine the scene. A feast is prepared, theatrical performers are often engaged, a procession goes out to meet the graduate, who affects all the airs imaginable, and his conceit is swollen beyond endurance. His swagger is supercilious to the point of silliness. To recognize his old companions is a condescension for which they feel extremely grateful. The whole performance tends to make these graduates the most obnoxious of all the people one meets.
>
> (MacKay, George Leslie, From Far Formosa, pp.117-18)

The year 1895 was of great significance in the history of education in Taiwan for in that year, after much bloodshed, the Sino-Japanese War (1894-1895) ended. Japan's success in this event gave her the right to dictate the terms of the treaty of settlement. Referred to as the Treaty of Shimonoseki, Japan for the first time in its history acquired territories that were outside of what most considered her sphere of influence. This was, of course, a precursor to events that were to further germinate in the mid-20th century and culminate with World War II. The provisions of this peace treaty provided for numerous concessions on the part of China; most important among these was the ceding of the island of Taiwan (called then Formosa, or "Beautiful Island") to the Empire of Japan. Taiwan would remain a colony of Japan until 1945 when it would again be incorporated into China as one of its provinces. The apocalyptic nature of this event in Japanese-Chinese history is noted by the scholar Takekoshi,Yosaburo who, in reference to the annexation of Formosa, stated: "It is a day long to be remembered by us, because on that day the

people and the territory belonging to another nation [China] were transferred to our rule, a fact never before met with in all the twenty-five long centuries of our nation's existence. . . ." (Takekoshi, Yosaburo, Japanese Rule in Formosa, p 12).

In conversations with scholars currently living in Taiwan who remember the period of Japan's control, the views expressed are revealing and interesting. Though these Taiwanese did, and do, consider themselves Chinese, they believed that the fifty years of Japanese administration were, overall, not without some advantage. Early in the period resistance and bloodshed were common as the Taiwanese chose not to cooperate with their new governors. The population was about three million at this time but generally the two people began to respect each other. Older scholars who today speak of the occupation period remember it in two phases: The era of repression which lasted until the mid-1920's,and the era of cooperation when the Japanese and the Taiwanese began to work together to develop their homeland.

One field that the scholars with whom I spoke were quite positive about was the Japanese education policy. This no doubt reflects a bias -- the professionals who felt that positive accomplishments in education were made in this age were men and women who themselves had received their primary and secondary education in Japanese-administered schools. It is quite impossible to judge the quality of the educational experience in these schools, yet the scholars who attended them and who today are part of the educational structure in Taiwan remember this period in a not unfriendly way.

One of the earliest Taiwanese educational leaders in the Japanese period was Lin Hsien-tang who had been a student of Liang Chi-Chao, a respected and

well-known Chinese scholar. Liang argued that the Taiwanese should attempt to work with the more progressive members of the Japanese group in Taiwan and that through cooperative efforts the Japanese and Chinese could live in peace and all mutually benefit. Lin Hsien-tang was to be in the vanguard of this movement, particularly as it was relevant to educational development -- an area to which he was to give his greatest counsel.

Education in Taiwan was quite disorganized. The Chinese, with their thousands of years of academic and scholarly excellence, had during the late Ching dynasty become corrupted. Military humiliation, territorial loss, and the evident decline of the Manchu dynasty all led to a decline in national spirit that is still seen in the opulent, garish art of these last years of the Ching. Taiwan education (the island being some 250 miles from the Mainland) was in a shambles and few plans for its improvement had been devised by the central government on the Chinese Mainland. The Japanese, on the other hand, had been successful in modernizing their educational system and were willing to share with their new hosts the success of their experience. (In 1872 Japan had started mandatory elementary school education for all.)

The Japanese began their education policy with a paradox: Was the educational system to teach the Taiwanese advanced scientific education which would allow them to be successful in career endeavors and consequently prosperous, or should the thrust be in the direction of assimilation? That is, should the Japanese-administered school emphasize Japanese language and culture over academic and skill courses that could lead to personal self-betterment of students? Initially the assimilation concept was allowed to prevail. The Japanese, it seems, hoped to make Taiwan an integral part of

the Empire and perhaps, in time, allow it to govern itself as an autonomous Japanese province.

In a few years the assimilation concept was replaced with more practical educational objectives. Chinese students were then allowed to pursue their formal study beyond the traditional elementary phase. This was a major alteration in the Japanese colonial educational policy and recognized the concept of education as an end rather than purely a means toward political and cultural assimilation.

In this context Takekoshi ,Yosaburo in his important 1907 study stated: "Our educational authorities were confronted with a difficulty which they did not know how to avoid. Should they give the people a practical scientific education and thus enable them to better themselves, have more comfortable homes, and make more money; or should they give such an education as would assimilate them with us Japanese?"

A dual system of education was eventually established in Taiwan during the era of Japanese administration. Communities continued to provide basic educational skills in which Chinese-Taiwanese traditional education was emphasized; however, these were inferior to the other system which was for the Japanese and their families. Modeled in subject and methodology on the Japanese compulsory educational system established in Japan in the early 1870's, these schools were located mainly in the areas most closely associated with the colonial administrative system -- the large cities and seaport communities. Though not forbidden to attend these schools, the Taiwanese were not accepted for admission in large numbers. Consequently, during the period of Japanese rule, the Taiwanese generally could not go beyond the primary school level; the few who did gain admission were able to advance

through the middle and high school grades and in some few cases matriculate to overseas colleges and universities. The main place where young men could go for their education was Japan; some few came to the United States, and a very small number went to Europe.

It was not until the late 1930's that Japan expanded educational opportunities in Taiwan. W. O. Goddard in his book, Formosa: A Study in Chinese History, paints a gloomy picture of educational opportunities under the "Japanese Occupation." Though only about 50 percent of the Taiwanese were afforded a basic education during this period, this is probably not terribly different than educational opportunities available on the Chinese Mainland. H. A. Franck who visited Taiwan in 1925 makes this statement which perhaps best sums up the educational policy in the period of Japanese administration:

> Primary school for the Japanese and the Formosans are separate, but the Formosan children must learn Japanese, since teachers are forbidden to teach in the Formosan language. No Formosan children can go to a government school unless he can speak Japanese and, according to a new ruling, no more private schools can be opened. There are still a few tutor schools, but even in these, Japanese must be taught.
>
> (W. G. Goddard, Formosa: A Study in Chinese History, p. 163)

During the early 1920's scholars like Lin Hsien-tang were able to bring about some education reform and a very few middle and high schools were set up in Taiwan for Chinese. Japanese language studies, however, were an important part of these institutions. Few vocational schools existed in Taiwan at this time and only a very small percentage of the population could follow this path for educational enrichment.

Interestingly, the very best university in Taiwan today has its roots in the era of Japanese occupation. National Taiwan University was established in Taipei (Taihoku was the Japanese name given to this main city on the

island). The institution existed mainly to allow the Japanese a place to send their children for advanced study. Few Chinese were admitted and the ones who did attend National Taiwan University were allowed to earn degrees in only one field -- medicine. Today a disproportionate number of physicians in Taiwan are of pre-1940 Chinese ancestry. The medical field is virtually dominated by the Taiwanese who found as their vehicle for academic and financial success the field of medical science. Those Taiwanese who went to school at the Japanese universities majored in law or medicine, two skills that could be used most fully upon their return to their native island.

On reading of the policies of the Japanese administrators in Taiwan and also after discussing educational policy with Chinese scholars who in the late 1930's were educated in primary schools, one senses that had the tension of World War II not been mounting Japan's policies would have been liberalized in the field of pedagogy. External forces -- the Sino-Japanese conflict that began in 1931, the rift with the U.S. and other Pacific powers, and the movement of Japan from its constitutional and quasi-representative government into a more authoritarian and promilitaristic posture -- destroyed the hope of Taiwan intellectuals like Lin Hsien-tang and others who were basically optimistic about the future relations of the two supreme oriental peoples.

Scholars educated in the period of Japanese control do not now generally remember the era as one of oppression or disdain. They feel that the Japanese were generally fair rulers within the context of the colonial concept of occupation and that opportunities for educational advancement that were not available prior to the occupation were beginning to develop in the 1920's and 1930's. Whether these men and women who were interviewed represent a general and accurate

portrayal of the 1930's and the Japanese schools is difficult to evaluate. Yet this writer suspects that the school policy towards Taiwan in this era would have been improved and an expansion of educational opportunity -- a cause célèbre in Japan at that time -- would have spread had World War II been avoided.

NOTES

The books used in this chapter are cited below. Conversations with Chinese and Chinese-American educators also assisted me in better understanding the period of Japanese occupation. Preparing this chapter presented some difficulties in that the use of interviews was highly subjective; it is 35 years since the Japanese were forced out of Taiwan and this time-lapse no doubt influenced perceptions.

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Chapter 5

THE MODERN SETTING: ACADEMEOCRACY IN TAIWAN

The Japanese defeat in World War II led to the retrocession of Taiwan to the Chinese government and thus to the reorganization of the educational system and education policy on the island. With the fall of the Chinese Nationalist government in 1949 the leaders of non-Communist China were forced to move to Taiwan and there radically altered the course of Taiwan development. Virtually every phase of life in Taiwan was affected by the influx of some three million "Mainland Chinese" who soon established themselves in political leadership and set about revamping and modernizing the island. This period was one of conflict, for the Taiwanese had not anticipated the events and were generally unprepared for the dramatic political changes that were to occur.

Education in Taiwan in the post-1949 period has made substantial gains. Even those people who are critical of the "Mainland" influence on the island agree that educational opportunity and quality are excellent. The only Asian society that can compete with Taiwan in educational vividity is Japan; yet the Japanese system with its "examination hell" and obsessive pressure on children to enter the right kindergarten and then the correct public school has created numerous psychological and societal problems that are perhaps neutralizing the high quality of learning and teaching. An excellent discussion of this is found in William H. Forbis' book, Japan Today (1975).

Competition, examination, and conformity are also found in the educational system of Taiwan; they have, however, been minimized by two forces. The Chinese are more reflective and philosophical about success and failure than

the Japanese, and education in Taiwan is a meld of the traditional draconian examination system and the more pragmatic, egalitarian, and liberal progressive ideas of American pedagogical philosophy and psychology. This synthesis has created a system of which the people of Formosa are proud and supportive.

This and the following chapter will discuss the educational system of Taiwan in two ways -- the macro- and the micro-analytical methods. The macro-analytical approach will focus on personal impression of the structural and the formal-legalistic aspects of education. In the micro-analytical approach this writer will look at a community that has been studied vis-à-vis social and economic change and evaluate how educational development interfaced with this rural community's evolution.

It has been suggested by David E. Apter in his important book, The Politics of Modernization (pp. 145-148), that in a developing society education plays a number of very important roles. It helps promote high literacy which in turn assists a society's technical and economic development, but perhaps more importantly it enhances the socialization and integration process by creating a common background and identity among the peoples and allowing them to join with the governing groups in a cooperative effort toward societal modernization. David Lerner in The Passing of Traditional Society (p. 46), suggests that as a society, like Taiwan, becomes industrialized a natural phenomenon of expanded educational opportunity occurs. "Increasing urbanization has tended to raise literacy; raising literacy has tended to increase media exposure; increasing media exposure has [enhanced] wider economic participation (per capita income) and political participation (voting)."

Education is of such importance to Chinese society and the political leadership of Taiwan that, unlike in the United States, the issue is addressed specifically in the Constitution. Expenditures, educational goals, and specific comments on the fiscal base of operation for all aspects of Taiwan education are detailed in Chapter 13, Section 5 of the National Constitution (which became effective on Dec. 25, 1947). The provisions relevant to education state:

> Article 158: The national's educational and cultural services shall have as their aim the development among the citizens of national characteristics, democratic spirit, traditional morality, good physique, scientific knowledge, and the ability to earn a living.
>
> Article 159: All citizens shall have an equal opportunity to receive education.
>
> Article 160: All children of school age, to wit, those from six to twelve years, shall receive free primary education. Those from poor families shall be supplied with textbooks at the expense of the Government.
>
> All citizens above school age who have not received primary education shall receive supplementary education free of charge and shall likewise be supplied with textbooks at the expense of the Government.
>
> Article 161: The National, provincial, and local governments shall create scholarships to assist students of good scholastic standing and of exemplary conduct who lack the means to continue their school education.
>
> Article 162: All public and private educational and cultural institutions throughout the country shall, in accordance with the law, be subjected to State supervision.
>
> Article 163: The State shall pay due attention to the balanced development of education in different regions and shall promote social education in order to raise the cultural standard of the citizens in general. The National Treasury shall give cash grants to border regions and economically poor areas to help them meet their educational and cultural expenses. The Central Government may itself undertake the more important educational and cultural enterprises in such regions or give them financial assistance.
>
> Article 164: Expenditures for educational programs, scientific studies and cultural services shall be in respect of the Central Government, not less than 15 per cent of the total national budget; in respect of the provinces, not less than 25 per cent of the total provincial budget, and in respect of the municipalities or hsien, not less than 35 per cent of the total municipal or hsien budget. Educational and cultural foundations established in accordance with the law shall, together with their property, be protected.

Article 165: The State shall safeguard the livelihood of those who work in the field of education, sciences, and arts and shall, in accordance with the development of the national economy, increase their remuneration from time to time.

Article 166: The State shall encourage scientific discoveries and inventions and shall protect monuments and articles of historical, cultural or artistic value.

Article 167: The State shall give encouragement or subsidies to the following enterprises or individuals:

(1) Private educational enterprises in the country which have a good record;
(2) Chinese educational enterprises abroad which have a good record;
(3) Persons who have made discoveries or inventions in the fields of learning and technology;
(4) Persons who have rendered long and meritorious service to the cause of education.

The Constitution has worked as a guide for educational development; however, due to political circumstances, the national government which is called upon to give 15 percent of the national budget has been unable to meet this provision.

There are many subjective methods of measuring the quality of educational experience. The schools in Taiwan are in excellent condition, discipline problems are virtually nonexistent, daily attendance is much higher than in the United States, and parents play a great part in the education of their children. While we were in Taiwan we visited a number of urban and rural schools. The grounds were well kept and graffiti was nonexistent. Children study aloud and the respect afforded teachers is immediately evident. Parents are asked to review their children's completed homework assignment each night and then to sign a homework record sheet indicating that the work is done and is of an acceptable quality. Events at schools, such as music recitals, art shows, sports activities, and science displays, are attended very well by parents and grandparents (many of whom live with the family). Perhaps the best subjective factor is the way the children look on the way to and from

school. They are generally walking fast or hurrying to the public bus (a common and cheap means of travel to school) and they inevitably carry with them a satchel filled with books, papers, and other materials. Some children are not much bigger than their homework satchels! Smiles are the most common expression seen on the faces of students. When one compares the attitude of most public school students in the United States with the feeling that pours out of the students in Taiwan, it is evident that most of these youngsters like school and are able to internalize the relationship between education, family pride, and future social, academic, and employment success. One also notes in Taiwan that misbehavior, though present, is not dealt with as severely as in the U.S. schools. Parents are called upon to solve the problem. The school teachers and administrators do not see their role as one to enforce discipline. The parents seem to handle these problems in a variety of ways; the end result is that the difficulties that plague U. S. schools do not exist in Taiwan. They are simply not part of the culture or social setting and discipline problems, disrespect, and disruptive and uncontrolled behavior on the part of students is unacceptable. Incidentally, every school visited had a statue or large painting of Confucius at its entrance. The moral and ethical implications of this symbol represent well the general tone of the academic atmosphere that is developed. Respect, kindness,and cooperation are found in the public and private schools; discrimination, phasing, mainstreaming, truancy, poorly groomed teachers, and administrative rancor are enigmas to Chinese education in Taiwan. When the issue of discipline is brought up, teachers and administrators indicate it is never a problem. In the U. S. this area -- classroom management -- rates highest on the list of ills (1975-1980) as perceived and articulated by American pedagogues.

Objective criteria when applied to education in Taiwan also show the system to have been successful. One of the major determinants of educational vividity is enrollment trends. This next section will compare the year 1950 with 1979. Statistics are available for the year 1945 but due to the problems of dislocation brought on by the war and the provisions of the peace treaty, 1950 appears to be a more meaningful time from which to measure quantitative change. It must be noted that to compare Taiwan with European or American education is quite impossible; to compare the Taiwan of 1950 with contemporary Taiwan is possible and plausible.

In 1950 there were 28 kindergarten centers with an enrollment of about 17,000 students. By 1979 the number of students had increased to 151,290 and there were almost 1,000 kindergarten settings. This reflects an increase in pupils of about 800 percent over a 30-year period. The reason for the success of the preschool program in Taiwan is the result of economic opportunities for married women and the general attitudinal change about women holding jobs outside of the home.

The Constitution clearly defines educational opportunity in grades 1-6, which are mandatory, and grades 7-9,which are free but not compulsory at this time. In 1950 there were 1,231 primary schools on the island with an enrollment of 906,950. In 1979 there were 2,412 primary schools and the enrollment had reached 2,278,726. A major change came to the structural designs of Taiwan education in 1968-69. At that time the public junior high school (also called at times the national high school) was established. This gave children the opportunity to continue their education sans an entrance examination through grade 9. Before this, admission to the junior high school was predicated on the score of a national exam given to sixth graders. The number of public junior high schools today is 632 while in 1969 it was

487. The enrollment increased in this same 10-year period from 617,225 to 1,082,074. It must be added that this extension was not without major economic and facility allocation difficulty.

When one talks of secondary schools in Taiwan a unique frame of reference must be employed. There are three types of secondary institutions; the academic high school, the normal four-year school, and the vocational high school. The traditional academic high school consists of three years of intensive academic course work. Its intent is to prepare the able student for two objectives: (1) To pass the national joint entrance examination for college and university admission; and (2) to give the student an adequate academic base from which to build his college education or his career. In 1950 there were in Taiwan some 62 academic high schools and about 19,000 students. By 1979 the number had increased to 183 schools with an enrollment of 177,647. Vocational school educational opportunity has likewise increased. There are some 184 vocational schools today with an enrollment of over 312,000. This reflects an 800 percent increase in the 30-year period under study.

One of the unique facets of higher education in Taiwan is the teacher education institutions (called normal school or normal universities). All of these schools were established by the government and offer free tuition. The period of study is five years; this includes a year of practice teaching. Upon graduating from a normal school/university the person must teach for a period of time, in a location, field,and level determined by the government (which has covered tuition cost). Young people in the provincial public education system benefit greatly from this government-controlled policy in that rural areas as well as urban can expect to have highly qualified and

nationally certified teachers. The discrepancy between rural and urban educational quality are hence, in theory, minimized by the government using a central placement service to determine which schools or areas are in need of more science, math, art, music, social studies, or special education teachers.

In Taiwan there are three types of junior colleges. There is the five-year model (three years of high school followed immediately by two years of college), the three-year post-high-school junior college, the five-year normal school for the preparation of elementary teachers, and the two-year junior college. As the enrollment in the public school system has increased, so has the total enrollment figure for the various types of junior colleges.

At the peak of the educational system are the public and private colleges and universities. These are available only to students who have done exceptionally well on the National Joint Entrance Examination offered each summer. In 1950 there were only three colleges, one university, and a few junior colleges and research centers. The total higher education student enrollment was about 6,600. The number of institutions of higher learning is now at 101. This represents an increase of 13.43 times in the 30-year period. An increase of 46.59 times the number of students was also registered. The students in these higher education institutions as of 1979 numbered approximately 317,200.

As has been stated, entrance to institutions of higher learning is based on successful completion of an academic high school and passing the Joint National Competitive Entrance Examination. Once a year, in mid-summer, all institutions of higher learning hold joint entrance examinations to select freshmen. These examinations (even in the eyes of those

individuals interviewed who were dissatisfied with higher education in Taiwan) are open to all, competitive, and fairly graded. Utmost scrutiny is used in grading and there is no indication of favoritism or dishonesty in this process. When registering for the national exam (which is held at numerous convenient sites and covers all academic topics), the applicant lists up to one hundred choices of subjects he wishes to major in and numerous schools he would like to attend. He may like, for instance, Department A in Schoql A, Department B in School C, and so forth. Only those with the highest scores (10 percent) gain admission to both the field of study and the university of their first choice.

One would wonder how students who did poorly on the exam would be motivated to study diligently in an area that was, for example, choice 50, school 10. The answer was given to me quite clearly by a sociology professor at Tunghai University: "Out of the 100,000 who took the exam, only 30,000 passed it and were admitted to college. Hence 70,000 students would gladly replace any one who was unmotivated." Further, as was explained to me by a dean at National Normal University in Taipei, "Few high school students really have any idea of what they wish to major in. Once they are in the department they normally become quite enthused with the challenge and subject matter." To support this thesis, one need only to look at the graduation rate of students. Approximately 93 percent of students who are admitted to one of the universities in Taiwan graduate with the baccalaureate degree in four or five years. In America most high school graduates can get admitted to some college (about fifty percent elect to go). Yet only approximately 37 percent of these (1971-78) graduate in the four- or five-year period. One could say that because of the strict and competitive admission policy of the Ministry of Education the most talented students are accepted. These quite naturally should graduate and do. Transfer from

one school to another is very rare; transfer from one department within a school to another is less rare but does necessitate approval by the Ministry of Education (which reevaluates the student's examination performance). The better private colleges and universities in the United States also practice highly selective admissions policies and also graduate a very high percentage of their freshman classes. Schools like Harvard have a retention rate of over 80 percent. The strict criteria for acceptance seems to translate into a more future-oriented studentry.

Most popular of the fields of study in Taiwan in recent years are medicine, the pure sciences, languages, information sciences, business and management, the pedagogical sciences, and law. The curriculum of law school is 5 years in length, dentistry 6 to 7 years, and medicine 7 to 9 years. A student who has graduated from an academic high school does not have to repeat in college the material that was supposedly covered in high school. The entrance exam assures the college that those students accepted have a mastery of their high school subject matter. This is a major difference between education in Taiwan and the United States; it is something that an educator in America can learn from.

The most prestigious degree that can be earned in Taiwan is the Ph.D. (the Ed.D. is not available). Only a few of the better schools have been granted permission by the Ministry of Education to offer these programs. The doctorate, it might be noted, is not granted by a university. Rather it is awarded by the national government upon recommendation by a university. Evaluation of a student's educational standards is made by a committee from his school and other scholars selected by the Ministry of Education. The theory is that the doctorate transcends university limits and should be considered a national degree. This is in keeping with Chinese history.

Historically the Emperor alone had the power to bestow the higher degrees on a successful candidate. Few candidates have been vetoed by the Ministry of Education when they sat for their doctoral exams; this possibility does, however, exist. The doctorate normally is earned after the master's and generally is a 3- to 5-year program in residency and is research oriented, as are most Ph.D. programs in the United States. The most prestigious school in Taiwan, National Taiwan University in Taipei, offers the doctorate in more than a dozen fields. This university, which began during the period of Japanese administration, can be ranked as one of the finest institutions in the world. Its medical college is internationally respected and physicians from many nations visit it for training and to teach.

The Ministry of Education assures that all graduate degree-granting programs have strong faculties and available research material. Most of these schools have only one or two Ph.D. degree programs; many universities offer numerous master's degree programs. These also must have approval of the Ministry of Education, as must all new departments, new faculty, and curriculum revision. As a high official at the Ministry of Education stated, "We do not want to have a marketplace where highly educated men and women cannot find employment. Rather, we control the number of persons gaining degrees and consequently assure fuller employment at the level of a person's education."

Institutions of higher learning in Taiwan have had a continuing problem of attracting the best and brightest professors. Until the early 1970's a serious "brain-drain" affected higher education. Many young people who took the terminal degree or post-doctoral work in America remained on the faculty of this nation's colleges and universities. Though the Ministry of Education recognized this as a serious liability for its own system, no effort was made

to limit the movement of people. China has a history of emigration. Interestingly, over 30 million Chinese live outside of China. The so-called brain-drain, which did in the statistical sense hurt the academic profile of teachers in Taiwan, ended in the early 1970's when nations like the U.S. and Japan found that the 1960's had produced an overabundance of Ph.D.'s to teach in their colleges and universities. Consequently, Taiwan today is not only attracting the best and the brightest of its own Ph.D.'s, but also has thousands of inquiries from foreign professors seeking teaching positions. Taiwan does have a basic rule: The college professor who hopes to become part of the regular (as contrasted to visiting) faculty must have fluency in Mandarin Chinese, the language that is used in all colleges and universities. However, visiting professors may be hired from other nations; all college students speak, read, and write English, and most graduate students have proficiency in a third or fourth language (usually Japanese, German, and/or French).

The main accomplishments in education in Taiwan since World War II have been in professional training. Virtually all physicians (the term "doctor" in China always denotes a Ph.D.), engineers, lawyers, teachers, and most scientists have received their education in Taiwan. Scholars in the humanities and social sciences usually take their terminal degrees abroad in Japan, the U.S., France, Germany, or England. Yet, with the significant improvements made in the Taiwan faculty since 1970, more students are remaining in their homeland for their graduate liberal arts education.

The faculty of Taiwan's colleges and universities has four ranks: Full professor (10 years of experience, publications, service, and the terminal degree or its equivalent); associate professor (3 to 7 years of experience, service, publications, and usually the terminal degree or its equivalent);

instructor (3 years of experience, a master's degree, and successful experience in writing and teaching); and teaching assistant (this is normally a part-time position held by a doctoral candidate and may last from 1 to 7 years). The rank of assistant professor does not exist. The latest statistics indicate that only about 40 percent of persons holding professional rank have the earned doctorate. The statistics do not show the large number who hold the "A.B.D." degree. Tenure as we in America know it is not part of the Chinese educational system nor seemingly a desired commodity.

In summary, traditional education in Taiwan -- kindergarten through the postdoctoral study -- has expanded dramatically in the last 30 years. To evaluate quality in transsocietal studies is difficult and relies on subjective factors. To judge an institution from a quantitative vantage point is possible and feasible but does not always give an accurate appraisal. Together they paint a picture of an educational system fulfilling the aspirations and expectations of the people of Taiwan.

One of the major goals of any public educational system is to develop in the populace an acceptance of their society, its political institutions, and the economic system. It is felt that through an understanding of these institutions that are the foundation of a harmonious community, members of the group will have a greater chance to live in comfort, economic and social security, and future-orientedness.

Mandarin is the language of instruction in the school system of Taiwan; Taiwanese(and Hakkanese, to a much lesser degree) is the language spoken in the playgrounds, streets,and homes of 90 percent of the population. Youngsters today are fluent in both Mandarin and Taiwanese and the post-1949 Chinese and the pre-1949 Chinese (commonly called Taiwanese) have, in all but the most isolated regions, an equal opportunity in the educational system

of Taiwan. Each year the percentage of persons who were born on the Mainland decreases and in the not-too-distant future the island will consist of virtually all native Taiwanese-born Chinese. Research conducted by Sheldon Appleton in 1970 ("Taiwanese and Mainlanders in Taiwan: A Survey of Student Attitudes," China Quarterly, Oct.-Dec. 1970, p. 56-57) strongly suggests that students of both Mainland and Taiwanese ancestry have similar attitudes toward government, family, and other vital institutions in Taiwan society. Other researchers have come to basically the same conclusion. Interestingly, they have also found that in Taiwan a direct relationship exists between one's educational achievement and one's support for the institutions of the society. My impression is that generally the educated class has such a vital interest in the nation's success that they perceive rancor as disruptive to their personal good fortunes. Debate over policy issues is often heated but the extension of this Socratic exercise seldom moves beyond the coffee circle of seminar rooms.

My impression and the impressions of others who have visited Taiwan would suggest that the traditional educational system is achieving its goals as prestated in its Constitution and anticipated by the population. Of all of the institutions in Taiwan, the people have the greatest faith in education as a vehicle for upward mobility and self-actualization. This feeling, complemented by China's long and unique history of educational excellence and the support of the populace at large for educational quality, has created an excellent environment to the teaching/learning process.

NOTES

Interviews were used in preparing parts of this chapter. They are listed in my 1978 study, Higher Education in Taiwan: The Confucius-Dewey Synthesis (Pacific Cultural Foundation, 1978). This monograph also contains a detailed bibliography. Other sources used in the development of this chapter are: Richard Wilson, Learning to be Chinese: The Political Socialization of Children in Taiwan (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1970); Richard Wilson, The Moral State: A Study of the Political Socialization of Chinese and American Children (New York: The Free Press, 1974); Chien-Lou Hwang, A Comparative Study of Social Attitudes of Adolescents in Glasgow and Taipei (Taipei: Orient Cultural Service, 1974); Sheldon Appleton, "Regime Support Among Taiwan High School Students" (Asian Survey 13:8, August 1973, pp. 750-60); Robert and Ai-li Chin, "Comparative Evaluations of Aspects of Contemporary Chinese Culture by College Students in Taiwan" (National Taiwan University Journal of Sociology, Dec. 1963, pp. 41-57); Sheldon Appleton, "The Political Socialization of College Students on Taiwan" (Asian Survey, Oct. 1970, pp. 910-23); Forbis, William H., Japan Today (Tokyo: Charles E. Tuttle, 1975); Opter, David, The Politics of Modernization (Univ. of Chicago Press, 1965); Lerner, David, The Passing of Traditional Society (New York: The Free Press, 1958); Education in the Republic of China: Statistical Guide (Taipei: Ministry of Education, 1976 and 1979); China Studies: A Collection of Essays and Lectures (Taipei: National Chengchi University, 1973).

Chapter 6

TA-YUAN HSIANG'S COMMUNITY EDUCATION SYSTEM: A MICRO-ANALYTICAL INQUIRY

As has been suggested in the previous chapter, an overall (macro-) analysis of education in Formosa indicates that quality programs from the earliest years through graduate study do exist. In using the micro-analytical approach to the same educational process one is able to enhance the focus and through selective generalization draw conclusions about the system. An attempt will be made here to use one community as a vehicle to better understand the explicit function and dynamics of Taiwan education.

The village under study is Ta-yuan Hsiang, a rural community about 25 miles southwest of the metropolis (3 million inhabitants) of Taipei. Today the village is the home of Taiwan's new international airport; the research done on the community, however, was completed prior to the construction of this facility and hence was not tainted by the major highway and facility construction that has since come to Ta-yuan Hsiang, a rather isolated farming and fishing port community which is considered not atypical of other villages and towns of moderate size. The population base of the community was about 51,000 in 1976. This was the year prior to the construction of the international airport. In this micro-analytical study of Taiwan education, using one village as the theoretical point of reference, I have relied heavily on the book Socio-Economic Change in Rural Taiwan, 1950-1978 (National Taiwan Univ., 1979). The authors of this excellent study are Prof. Martin M. C. Yang, a sociologist at Soochow University, and Prof. Cheng-hung Liao, chairman of the Department of Agricultural Extension and a rural sociologist at National Taiwan University. While in Taiwan I had the honor of spending many hours with Dr. Liao and his colleagues and have continued to correspond with him.

A profile of educational facilities in Ta-yuan Hsiang indicates that in 1976 there were 8,188 children in 12 elementary schools, 6,579 in the junior middle schools, and 1,940 in senior middle school and senior vocational schools. This reflects approximately 50.17 percent of the population of the ages who could attend these schools. There is no college in Ta-yuan Hsing but in 1976,1,467 of the population of 50,000 were enrolled as college students. This is about 2.90 percent of the total population. Five people in Ta-yuan Hsiang in 1976 held the doctoral degree. The other major educational venture is in community development; this deals with such topics as crop improvement, sanitation, mechanization, home improvement, child care and rearing training, and economic education.

Parents' opinion of the educational system and academic opportunities in Ta-yuan Hsiang were investigated carefully by Professors Liao and Yang in their study. In 1976 parents generally placed a greater degree of hope on education as a means for economic betterment than they had in the past. Of the 200 families interviewed, 75 percent felt their sons would go to college and 64 percent believed their daughters would benefit from college. Only 11.5 percent of the parents interviewed believed that junior high education was sufficient for their children's future. About 3.5 percent believed that an elementary education was as high as their children needed to go to be successful.

Professors Liao and Yang concluded that parents now see advanced education as extremely important in their children's future. This, it is believed, reflects a significant change in attitude over a 20-year period. The researcher indicates that in the mid-1950's most adults did not correlate educational achievement with social and economic success.

The perceived reasons for children (boys) to continue their education were (1) for a better job, (2) to develop better talent to learn, and (3) to have the means (money) for self and family support. Interestingly, the reverse listing of these reflects the reason why parents would see advanced education as valuable to their daughters.

The parents of Ta-yuan Hsiang believe that the school system is of good or excellent quality. According to the study, 94 percent of the people interviewed expressed varying levels of satisfaction with the schools, teachers, and administrative system in their community. Parents also made pointed comments on how the educational system should be revamped. They felt that more emphasis should be placed on basic skills (reading, writing, and math) and that a much smaller emphasis should be directed to subjects such as modern literature, arts, moral ethics, health education, and rural development. This suggests that parents are actively concerned about their schools and the curriculum but that they generally do not see a relationship between higher academic subject matter and a student's intellectual growth.

I believe that the Liao-Yang study reflects quite accurately the general feelings of the people of the island about their schools. They are optimistic that the educational system will help their children in all areas of life, they support the teachers and administration, they question the need for liberal arts and humanities courses in the primary and middle grades, and they believe that they can express their concerns and opinions and consequently effect change in the curriculum. This micro-analytic inquiry, when generalized to the whole of society, tends to represent well the attitudes of the tax-paying citizens of Formosa.

For an interpretation of the community school system in Taiwan that differs from the Liao-Yang study, the reader is directed to Margery Wolf's Women and the Family in Rural Taiwan. This work is based on research done by Prof. Wolf in the village of Tapu during the 1960's. Her conclusions, using women's life in the village as her vehicle, would indicate a lack of sensitivity on the part of the public schools to the psychological needs of children and their families. As Prof. Wolf states:

> The serious business of school--the harsh discipline, rigid routine, long hours of rote memorization--begins in the first grade. Although today's "modern" schools no longer require children to spend their first few years memorizing classical texts, whose meaning will not be explained until much later, bare literacy cannot be attained without hours of memorization. Chinese scholars take great pride in the subtlety and attendant difficulty of their language; to have the honor of reading it, one must be willing to expend much energy. Perhaps the discipline required to memorize the several thousand characters necessary for newspaper literacy is the origin of the air of rigid discipline that pervade Taiwanese schools. In one of the classrooms my husband observed, the children were expected to sit at all times with their feet flat on the floor, knees together, backs straight, both hands holding their books at a 45-degree angle to the desk. The teacher quite literally shouted commands that would bring the children into or out of this position, cause them to rise in a group, march out of the room in order, and so on. This is a long way for the kindergartner who used to wander home for a mid-morning snack to travel in a year, and for the children who do not go to kindergarten the fall from paradise is instantaneous.

I asked my wife, who went through the public school system in Taiwan, to read Ms. Wolf's sections on education and to tell me if she believed the harshness described was typical. She indicated that in the early years of her schooling (during the 1950's and 60's) it was not uncommon for teachers to be abusive and cantankerous with their pupils. Her explanation was that teachers in grades 1-6 were not college graduates. Many were products of 5-year normal schools and often their experience in pedagogical studies and educational psychology was limited. They taught their charges as they had been taught while in the elementary school.

Today, however, the system does seem more sensitive to the needs--psychological and academic--of the children. Much of the harshness described so vividly in Margery Wolf's seminal study appears to be more the exception than the rule. Yet parents, especially those in rural isolated areas, do not feel comfortable challenging the authority of the teacher. With the new emphasis on local development and community self-reliance, one may anticipate a greater degree of parental-pedagogue interaction and exchange. Urban area schools in which parents are more actively involved with their children's academic careers are less inclined to have teachers like the one described in the 1968 research of Margery Wolf.

NOTES

The published works relied upon in preparing this chapter were: Liao, Cheng-hung and Yang, M. C., Socio-Economic Change in Rural Taiwan, 1950-1978 (National Taiwan Univ., 1979); Wolf, Margery, Women and the Family in Rural Taiwan (Stanford Univ. Press, 1972); Wolf, Margery and Witke, Roxane (Ed.), Women in Chinese Society (Stanford Univ. Press, 1975). Interviews with parents, public school teachers in the Taipei and Kaoshing areas, and professors, particularly Dr. C. H. Liao of National Taiwan University and Dr. Chen, Yung-hwa of National Normal University, were valuable to me in better understanding community attitudes toward public education.

Chapter 7

ENTRANCE EXAMINATION: THEN AND NOW

In the U.S. virtually any student who holds a high school degree or an equivalency deiploma has a very good chance of being accepted at one of America's economically besieged colleges or community colleges. The quality of their scholarship as high school students and their ability to pass an entrance examination reflecting their native intelligence and motivation are in many cases irrelevant to being accepted at America's colleges. State and even private institutions have begun the "open door policy" for admitting all students. The ideal behind this uniquely American phenomenon is the notion that, in a democratic society, equality of educational opportunity must constantly be enhanced; that socio-economic factors that do often deprive youngsters of a chance to compete academically must be considered; and that the best way to equalize opportunity is to open the doors of colleges to students whose academic performance has been weak. The reality of the open admission policy is that American universities greatly over-expanded their resources in the 1960's and 1970's and,as student enrollment has decreased, an effort has been made to recruit youngsters who in years past could not possibly have been admitted. Incidentally, many of these products of open-door admission do become late bloomers and graduate with a wealth of knowledge; most probably drop out or are dismissed after one or two years. One could question the ethics of the open-door policy on numerous grounds. Whether the true reason for open admission in America is the idealistic or economic or a realistic combination of both is quite impossible to say.

In Taiwan, as is true in all other nations, a competitive selective process for admission to colleges and universities takes place. I believe we in America can learn a distinct lesson from the historical and contemporary model used in China.

Colleges and universities in far Formosa select their freshman classes annually through the Joint Competitive Entrance Examination which is held annually in the months of July and August. All students who wish to be admitted to any of the 101 institutions of higher education must sit for this examination. Children are exposed to the concept of the examination system early in their education. To matriculate into an academic senior high school one must successfully pass a competitive test after completing ninth grade. Admission to a prestigious institution or an average one depends strictly upon the score the student achieves on the high school entrance examination. Unlike the public free schools (grades 1-9),high schools are rated in order of quality and admission is selective. Getting into the better high school (public or private, for they are both under the examination system) is a good indicator of one's chances of being accepted by a better college. The examination system has been criticized for the heavy psychological burden it places on both children and their families; there is no question, even from the severest critics of Taiwan, that favoritism and special treatment are not given to children in these tests no matter how wealthy or powerful their parents. Even the most vociferous critics are unable to suggest a better admissions system considering the economic constraints of the society and the great eagerness youngsters have for educational success. Discrimination, suggests Ralph N. Clough in Island China (p. 59), does not exist in the examination process; and the children of Hakka, Taiwanese, or Mainlanders have equal chances of success on these government-administered and computer-graded tests.

To qualify to sit for the college entrance examination one must have graduated from an academic (private or public) high school. Special consideration is given to children of diplomats who have been in foreign school systems and to overseas Chinese who may take the examination in the country in which they reside. This is a very small percentage of all those who compete. In 1978-79, under the watchful eye of proctors selected by the Ministry of Education which has responsibility for the fairness and honesty of the procedure, approximately 100,000 youngsters took the test which was held at public facilities, e.g., government high schools.

When a high school graduate registers for the examination he states the basic field in which he would like to study. There are four curriculum areas: (1) Physical sciences, (2) biological sciences, (3) arts and humanities, and (4) social, commercial, and legal studies. On this same form the youngster indicates his preference in schools and specificially the department, e.g., National Taiwan University, agriculture. The score on the exam determines which schools of the ones listed and which departments the freshmen may enter. Needless to say, all students put the best schools first and the more competitive department as their primary choice; few are accepted into the school they select first and few are given the major they choose. Rather, the test score, the ranking of the schools from the best to the weakest, and the competitiveness of the department are all evaluated vis-a-vis the test results and the students are informed of where they have been accepted and their field of study. Newspapers, wall posters, and personal letters carry the information throughout the island. Because only one-third of the students taking the examination pass and are admitted to any college, few eligible students express open disappointment that their first choices were not honored. They seem to respect the examination system and realize that it is fairly and honestly administered.

The only dispute to this general thesis that I heard while in Taiwan was from a music professor. Students wishing to enter that field must perform in a refereed recital with two instruments. This professor suggested that a student could work with a privately well-paid music tutor who might also be part of the examination team and that a potential conflict of interest could occur.

The examination system as it now exists in Taiwan is based upon historical tradition and predicated on a theoretical education framework and philosophy. Believing as Chinese educationalists do that if all children and parents are fully aware of the nature and importance of the examination system, motivation for success will be enhanced. The school, child, and family environment become a single and united force with the goal of all three being the same--successful academic achievement; homework and study are viewed with sanctity. The examination symbolizes the objectivity of the college selection process and hence promotes the view that social and economic classes are transient in nature and that through study, diligence, and intelligence one can overcome great obstacles. It also greatly assists the educational community in developing a single-purpose curriculum, courses, and pedagogical technique that will allow the student to focus his attention on subject matter and intellectual inquiry relevant to the examination process. Because the entrance exams are nonspecific in nature, a broad high school education is needed, but specialization in one of the four areas previously mentioned is also needed. The examination certifies that youngsters entering college have the ability to master their subjects and that they will not find that the material in their college courses is beyond their intellectual grasp. Professors at universities know that their charges have a foundation of learning upon which they can build and that going over

materials supposedly covered in high school is not necessary. Scholarships and government grants for less affluent students can also be given in an objective fashion.

Though about 60 to 70 percent of the students sitting for the examination do not qualify for admission into a college or university, they may, after a year of intensive tutoring or a period in the military service, retake the joint admission examination. The policy of Taiwan is to use the examination as a device for fair, open, and equal competition for admission to higher education. The government also, by periodically raising or lowering minimum entrance requirement scores, can channel persons into what it views as economically and socially important fields. Teachers are in less demand now than in the 1960's and 1970's and consequently the examination for admission into teacher education programs requires an increasingly higher score. The need for social and community development workers has become greater. The entrance examination score for entering this field is lowered to allow more students the opportunity to further their studies and thence take positions in this socially relevant career. Individuals who may have wished to go into education are now encouraged to enter social work or community health programs.

Because the Ministry of Education, one of the branches under the Executive Yuan (the cabinet), has direct central authority over all higher education in Taiwan and de facto authority over all education planning, quality control, and money allocations, national needs are relatively easy to assess and effect. The U.S. with its local control has no national standards for scholarship and academic integrity. Children living in one community or neighborhood may not have the educational advantages that another town affords its youngsters. America would be wise to learn from Taiwan, Japan, and other nations and place precollege education totally under the new U.S.

Department of Education. Though it would certainly bring about a standardization of quality and take educational power from locally elected or selected politicians, it would enhance the overall deportment of the system that now exists and assure that all children were given an equal opportunity for successful academic experiences and career potential. The regional accreditation agencies are in theory responsible for this at the higher education level. A national accreditation body would better serve America's higher education needs, help eliminate duplication and discrimination, and enhance the prestige of the research and teaching at the universities and colleges in America. The Taiwan and Japan models are worth investigating as means to revitalizing U.S. education.

The examination system today is radically different from what existed in the pre-Republic period. Yet one can see in it the roots of the current process. Chiang Monlin, an educator, writer, and administrator whose influence in Chinese educational development in the 20th century must be considered paramount, has written in detail about his examination experience in his beautiful tome, Tides from the West. The work is both autobiographical and historical-philosophical. Chiang Monlin has set down his life in lucid and poetic prose which tells us a great deal about the educational system in China from his birth in 1886 to the publication of this book in 1962. His death in the mid-1960's ended the career of one of the two outstanding Chinese educators of the first half of the 20th century. The other great Chinese educationalist was Hu Shih, who is discussed elsewhere in this book.

Chiang Monlin in his chapter titled "Imperial Civil Examination" discusses his own travail in furthering his education through the testing

process (Tides from the West, pp. 54-60). At the age of 18, after attending Chekiang College for his basic pre-university training, Chiang registered to sit for the Imperial Civil Examination at Shooshing. The examination began with the gathering of all students at 4 a.m. in the chill mist outsice of the hall. Several thousand scholars from the region, dressed in red-tasseled hats sans the button and each carrying a lantern, waited to hear their names called by a senior scholar-civil servant. The administrator responsible for the procedure (the Prefect) wore a red-tasseled hat with a blue crystal button at the top (an indication of a successful scholar), a black silk jacket over a blue gown, and a chain of beads around his neck. This was the proper attire for academics in these last years of the Ching. When the student's name was called he presented himself to the Prefect who put a red dot next to the list of names. The candidate was then admitted to the hall where he was thoroughly searched; all notes and paper were confiscated. The student would then take the seat which had his name on it. Each examination paper was numbered and the names on the examination papers which were on detachable slips of paper were removed; consequently the candidate was unknown to the scholars who read and evaluated the test papers.

Chiang Monlin states:

> Towards the end of the Manchu Dynasty, when corruption ran rampant in many branches of government, the Imperial examination system remained independent and free alike of external interference and internal corruption. This was one reason why the degrees conferred were so much honored in China. (Chiang Monlin, Tides from the West, p. 55)

The questions on the examination were limited to one field of study--the Confucian classics. For this reason the candidate was required to memorize all the texts and commentary on these works. The questions were shown to the students on large silk screens with a reflected candle behind the

screen. The characters could be seen by all persons in the room. Periodically examiners would check to see the progress of students. Upon completion of his test the student would review his essay and upon the ring of a bell hand in his papers and leave quietly. Students who did well on this first exam would return a few days later for another, and upon successful completion of this would take a third day-long test. Within a week the scores were known and those persons who had passed all aspects of the exam were visited at their boarding houses by an official reporter who would loudly announce the successful candidate's name and that he was awarded the Degree of Wu-Shen or Hsui-tsai. This would be roughly equal to the B.A. or B.S. degree.

Receiving this degree entitled the young man to enter a government school and prepare for the next examination. Families, friends, and members of the community were invited to celebrate the great event and when the successful scholar returned home a great festival was held.

Chiang Monlin describes the tension, the rote memorizations, and the elation that were part of the traditional examination process which has evolved into the national college admission procedure that exists in Taiwan, Japan, and other oriental nations to this day.

NOTES

The writing of this chapter on the examination system is the result of a meld of printed sources and interviews. I also had the opportunity to see the examination scores posted on large bulletin boards. Students would gather, find their number and their score, and either cheer with joy or walk tearfully away. The tension could be sensed by anyone in the vicinity. The specific materials used in this chapter were: Clough, Ralph, Island China (Harvard Univ. Press, 1978), which is a must for anyone interested in Taiwan; Monlin, Chiang, Tides from the West (The World Book Co. of Taipei, 1963); Durant, Will, Our Oriental Heritage (Simon & Schuster, 1935); interviews with You-yu Bao, Director, Bureau of International, Cultural and Educational Relations, Ministry of Education, in Taipei, Feb. 1980; Yung-hwa Chen, Chairman, Dept. of Educational Psychology and Director Graduate Institute of Guidance,National Normal University, Feb. 1980.

SECTION II -- NON-TRADITIONAL AND EVENING EDUCATION IN TAIWAN: SERVING THE NEEDS OF SPECIALIZED GROUPS

INTRODUCTION

I have chosen to use the term "non-traditional" to describe a number of educational programs that currently exist in Taiwan. By this term I am referring to those planned and organized education experiences that (1) are generally (but not exclusively) developed for younger and older adults; (2) do not carry graduate credit; (3) do not in most cases end with a degree or diploma; (4) are generally related to individual or community betterment and are directed to unique learning needs; (5) are not necessarily under the auspices of the Ministry of Education or the provincial department of education; (6) use unique, specialized and innovative methodologies and delivery systems; and (7) are targeted at a specialized group of learners. Evening degree programs (Chapter 9) are included in Section II because of their unique and important position in Taiwan education.*

Needless to say, this section will describe only a small percentage of the non-traditional education programs now operating in Taiwan. Exercise classes, poetry and painting workshops, cooking, driving, sewing, family health, and a host of other informal and formal non-traditional educational experiences are found in each village, town, neighborhood, and city in Taiwan. Attempting to cover all of these programs that help bring meaning and direction to the lives of millions of people would be virtually impossible. The programs discussed in this section are ones the writer visited personally and was able to gain necessary printed and verbal information. Other activities, though observed, were not within the purview of this research. From this selective sample and analysis presented here the reader will be able to

better understand the direction in which this form of education is going and the dynamic nature of this very necessary and important emerging field of human resource development and catalytic relationship to societal change.

The various non-traditional experiences will be presented as individual chapters in this section. No attempt will be made in discussing these programs to compare or contrast them either among themselves or with parallel efforts in other nations. In ending this section I will briefly discuss how we in America can learn from Taiwan's experience.

*The evening degree programs in Taiwan are under the Ministry of Education and are in all ways traditional in their approach to teaching and learning. They do, however, target a special audience and therefore have been included in this section. Chinese educators were quick to tell me that evening education conforms in all ways to the academic expectation of day college.

Chapter 8

"TEACHER CHANG" COUNSELING CENTER

As Taiwan has become an industrialized society many problems that were traditionally handled within the extended family configuration are now resolved through outside agencies. One of the most unique and seemingly successful of these is the Youth Counseling Center, known to students and other young people as "Teacher Chang." Founded in 1969, Teacher Chang is under the auspices of the China Youth Corps as a quasi-autonomous governmental agency that has as its goal helping young persons in employment, social skills, and personal betterment. It also attempts to act as a vehicle for social stabilization in a society that is confronting great change and that has a disproportionate number of children and young adults.

Teacher Chang is organized as follows: An advisory committee consisting of between 30 and 70 members is charged with developing policy, reviewing operating procedures, selecting and evaluating personnel, and making major economic decisions. The members of this group are professional people; most are from academic fields such as psychology, social work, and education. These persons are volunteers and meet periodically to set policy and determine the overall direction of the program. The director of the counseling service, normally a person from the field of education, is responsible for the day-to-day operation of the center. His main concerns are in the areas of finance, personnel, public relations, and intergovernmental communications. He also assists counselors with cases that present problems. Reporting to the director are eight full-time employees, all of whom were trained in the area of human resource development and/or education. Economic constraints have not allowed Teacher Chang to expand to its full size which

would include 20 regular counselors and administrators. This core of eight all have advanced degrees in their fields. The main group of persons working at Teacher Chang are the part-time volunteers. There are currently 134 of these in Taipei who come to the downtown center to assist persons who are having family, marriage, academic, or psychological problems. Throughout the island of Taiwan there are over 500 volunteers who give an average of eight hours a week as counselors. Volunteers are either graduate students in the social sciences or education or teachers and professors. Those from the field of teaching come to the center after a full day's work and are willing to devote a few hours of their time to serve as counselors.

Teacher Chang is located in downtown Taipei at the Dr. Sun Yat-sen Center and is housed in a Chinese-design complex of modern air-conditioned buildings. It shares the location with other youth-oriented programs (some of which will be discussed later). One of the buildings that is used by Teacher Chang for group counseling was a residence of Dr. Sun Yat-sen. Dormitories are also part of the Teacher Chang Center. These are available for youngsters who have problems that would be better solved by their living outside of the traditional family setting. "The reason that Teacher Chang has become an expanding part of Taiwan society," explained one of the counselors, "is the difficulty that younger and older people have found in attempting to face the rapid industrialization and subsequent social dislocation." In traditional China, the family (with the oldest male and/or female in control) allowed for stabilization. With a redistribution of economic resources, younger people now have greater (economic) influence than their elders. Industrialization is also related to the demise of the extended family. Young married couples living in cities usually purchase condominiums or rent apartments. They are less likely to include their parents in the family configuration.

Older people have had to face this problem and the younger, who traditionally had the watchful eye of the grandfather or grandmother to assist them, now are required to function in a more independent, less secure environment. Yet it is still not unusual for a son to take responsibility for his aged mother when she is alone. This causes great pressure on the daughter-in-law and accounts for a major sociological problem in Taiwan.

One of the goals of Teacher Chang is to encourage the younger people to see that the older generation can have a place in their lives and that grandparents can often be of great assistance in child-rearing and helping families over difficult times.

Besides the Taipei headquarters of Teacher Chang, there are nine telephone centers and six mailbox centers throughout the island. A young person having a problem is free to call Teacher Chang for counseling by telephone. This is particularly valuable to those who are too shy to face a counselor and also for those whose residence would make it difficult to visit the center. A person who wishes to write for confidential assistance may also do this through one of the mailbox centers. An answer to the question or advice on the specific problem will arrive in one to two weeks. The largest group are those who come to the center for personal consultation. Both individual psychological therapy and group sessions are used as well as residential assistance.

A strict code of ethics is enforced at Teacher Chang. Confidentiality is observed in all but the most severe cases. In these few incidents other professionals may be asked for advice on how to handle a patient's problem. Also, counselors are warned to refer to medical personnel any cases that are too severe to fall in the scope of Teacher Chang. Professionalism in relations with clients and other counselors is also required. The main

concern of all people working at the center, according to the written code of ethics, is to place the client's interest first and to do all that is possible to help him with his difficulties.

One new development in the modus operandi of the counseling center is called "Street Corner Teacher Chang." In the larger cities of Taiwan, particularly the metropolis of Taipei, youngsters often congregate in areas that are less desirable for their future growth and social development. Certain regions or locales in any major city seem to pander to the less responsible. This is the case in Taipei, a city of some 3 million people. Though alcoholism is not a problem, other activities are. What Street Corner Teacher Chang does is to send a counselor to the location of the undesirable activity and there meet with the youngsters gathered and try to discuss with them why they feel alienated. These traveling counselors take on a missionary role. They encourage the children who are having difficulty to visit the main center. The very fact that counselors make the effort to meet with these young people in their own environment seems to have a positive effect. According to one of the counselors, Teacher Chang representatives are treated with respect and are seldom turned away or embarrassed. No statistical evidence is available on how helpful this method is in lowering juvenile delinquency problems; it does let the older people in the community know that community-sponsored counselors from Teacher Chang are available for referrals. Incidentally, the main place the Teacher Chang street corner counselors have found youth with problems congregated is in the coffee houses, a new innovation in Chinese society. Many of these could be equated to the less desirable bars and saloons in Western cities.

Relatively new in Taiwan and still at a very small scale is the drug problem. The counselors with whom I spoke attributed the use of drugs to four basic factors: (1) Their availability, (2) pressures to do well in school and on examinations, (3) the absence of alcohol, and (4) social dislocation related to urbanization, dislocation, and family changes. The drugs most commonly used, according to Teacher Chang representatives, are tranquilizers, PCP and LSD (powerful hallucinogens), sniffed glue, and in some few cases heroin. Drugs not used are opium, cocaine, and alcohol. Because heroin selling is punishable by death, this addiction has not become a major or even minor issue in Taiwan, yet it does exist in some circles.

Teacher Chang offers three basic models for drug therapy: (1) Individual sessions with a psychologist or social worker; (2) group sessions in which young people discuss their problems openly with each other under the direction of a professional; and (3) camp therapy. This last allows for the youngster to attend a Teacher Chang camp in the beautiful mountains of Taiwan. There, away from the pressures of urban life and under strict supervision, he is able to work to restore his self-confidence, to experience the friendship of other troubled young people, and to have personal and group counseling sessions. Complemented with exercise and work (for room and board), this method has proven quite successful in the short run and the program will be expanded.

Teacher Chang has recently been holding seminars with educators on ways to lessen the stress associated with the educational examination process. The conclusion of the persons with whom I spoke was that technical and vocational education had to be elevated in the eyes and minds of the Chinese people if this was ever to be realized. Also, parents would have to be

educated to the concept that not all children should go to college and that pressure on a child to succeed in education beyond his abilities creates stress that often finds a socially unacceptable outlet. The place of last resort used by Teacher Chang in its drug programs is institutionalization in a hospital for the mentally ill. Incidentally, the suicide rate among young people in Taiwan is quite low when compared to that in Japan, Korea, and other oriental nations. Teacher Chang counselors suggest that this is due to the fact that the phenomenon of suicide is not ingrained in Chinese culture as it is in other societies.

As part of the Teacher Chang effort to reach more youngsters, it holds workshops for school teachers and administrators. These are designed to inform educators on how to refer a problem to the center and subsequently how the problems are dealt with. A formal and scholarly journal and newsletter is published by Teacher Chang which finds its way to the offices of most school counselors and administrators. Articles are written by guest authors, usually professors in psychology and sociology and also staff professionals at the center. A statistical report is submitted each year by the Teacher Chang staff.

The main procedural problem that currently faces the Teacher Chang Counseling Center is related to the 500 volunteers. The age of these people is from 21 to 40 and as such they are involved with their own education and career aspirations. Administrators at Teacher Chang, while praising the efforts of these people, indicated that three major concerns face them. There is little or no follow-up training for the paraprofessional volunteers after their 2-week initial introduction workshops. Another problem that the center must confront is that volunteers can quit with little forewarning and hence leave an important position unfilled. This disrupts the continuity of the

program and could cause personal setbacks for dependent patients. Teacher Chang hopes to increase its paid professional staff to eliminate some of the problems faced with the wide use of volunteers. It also hopes to do research on its long-range effectiveness and develop better tools for self-evaluation. Another concern that faces Teacher Chang is that many parents do not want to admit to problems within their families. Also it is felt that problems of a sociological or psychological nature should be solved with the full family involved and through sibling and parental pressures. Teacher Chang, with emphasis on the client-counselor relationship, is hard for some parents of the older generation to accept.

A philosophical problem, according to numerous staff members, also confronts the Teacher Chang Center. Most of the professional counselors use psychoanalytical models which are based on Western techniques that have been brought back by graduate scholars from America. The literature that dominates the field of counseling is based on Western therapeutic styles. Attempting to use Western techniques within the framework of Chinese society has created various levels of tension and even rejection. When Chinese scholars return from their studies in the West they initially try to incorporate Freudian and Skinnerian ideas into their practice at Teacher Chang. The Chinese reject these; they do not see the traditional Freudian-based Western psychological methods as relevant to their needs and are unwilling to accept this type of in-depth analysis. Accordingly an effort has been made at Teacher Chang to synthesize the two cultures. Counselors realize the value of Freudian therapy but they are also sensitive to the traditions of the Chinese family which for thousands of years has been the source for solving emotional problems of family members. How the conflict between Oriental traditions and Western psychology will be resolved is uncertain.

Of the psychological schools of thought attempted at Teacher Chang only the Rogerian has been widely accepted. Carl Rogers, one will remember, presented the concept of incongruences (and hence psychological distress) between what one is (the real self) and what one would like to be (the ideal self). When these two "selfs" are too distant an internalized confrontation in values will arise. The Rogerian school of nondirective or client-centered therapy offers a vehicle by which the patient examines these contradictions and attempts to bring the "ideal self" and the "real self" into some coherence.

Counselors at Teacher Chang indicate that Carl Rogers' view of man was more in keeping with the traditional Confucian view of the nature and motivation of man, while Freud with his fixation on subconscious psychosexual motivation was unacceptable to both traditional practitioners and clients at Teacher Chang and in Chinese society in general.

Teacher Chang plays an important role in areas other than psychological and social counseling. Vocational and educational assistance advisement are also available as is an extensive testing program to determine one's career preference and academic potential. Scheduled radio shows on three stations are sponsored by Teacher Chang. Also a recent effort in the area of TV panel discussions on youth problems has been launched by Teacher Chang.

"Teacher Chang," according to the official manual published by the Center, "is designed to strengthen the relationship between parents, school, society, and individual." Statistics available on the number of participants in the program would suggest that Teacher Chang is successful in this endeavor. Between 1979 and 1980 about 150,000* cases were handled by the Center or its satellite offices.

Though Teacher Chang has little to do with classroom education per se, its ability to effect positive change in the Taiwan society is evident. As the challenges of industrialization, urbanization, and competition become greater, the Teacher Chang Counseling Center with its dedicated staff and modern concepts of therapy will become an increasingly important aspect of Taiwan's non-traditional education system.

* "Teacher Chang" Statistics for the years 1969 to 1975 only

Problem area	Percentage	No. of Cases
Health	8.8	7,652
Family	13.9	12,165
Education	19.5	16,834
Social	9.2	7,987
Emotional	18.2	15,807
Vocational	6.4	5,533
Philosophical	4.1	3,521
Delinquency	3.4	2,937
Other	16.5	14,508
	Total -	86,944

SOURCES

Interviews with professional counselors at Teacher Chang made up the information base for this section. Counselors Hao, Shie-Ming Angela, Lee, Tui-Lin April, and Wang, Guey-Hwa Doris all provided me with many hours of their time. They were of great value to me in understanding the nature of Teacher Chang. The only literature available in English on this program is Teacher Chang. An Introduction of the Youth Counseling Center (Youth Counseling Service of Taipei, 1977). This was of use when dealing with statistical profiles.

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Chapter 9

EVENING EDUCATION: The Taiwan Experience

Symptomatic of the eagerness for learning that today flourishes in Taiwan are the degree-granting evening college programs.

One of the aims that I had when I traveled to Taiwan was to analyze the evening degree-granting programs and to see how they differed among the various colleges and universities. Conversations with deans and directors of these programs indicated that they were all very much the same in both their structural framework and their stated goals. The high degree of similarity among the various degree-granting evening institutions is explained by the fact that the Ministry of Education has direct control over the creation, organization, admissions policy, fee schedule, hiring practices, and graduation requirements of all evening education degree-granting centers in Taiwan. Though this does bring about a good deal of standardization, it also helps eliminate duplication of effort in a given geographical area and unnecessary quality-reducing competition. These two problems are now faced by American universities which in recent years have taken on "hard-sell" policies for their evening programs and have also lessened the quality of the learning experience to draw in more--often less academically prepared--graduate students.

Because the evening degree programs are so similar in formal structure and administrative policy orientation, this chapter will focus on National Normal University and its night school. National Normal University has been selected because, of all of the institutions in Taiwan, it appears to represent the highest quality and most energetic evening program. Formed in 1956,

it also was one of the earliest to begin a night school. Reference will also be to the night school program at Tunghai University in the central part of the island. This is a private institution but must, like all colleges and universities, conform to the regulations of the Ministry of Education.

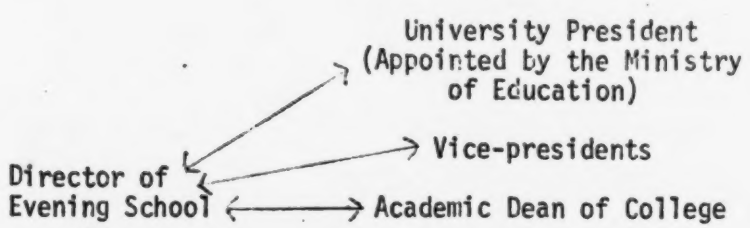
Incidentally, no university in Taiwan offers graduate degree programs in the evening. While meeting with administrators at colleges and officials of the Ministry of Education I suggested that this would be the next logical step to enhance the opportunities of working adults who could not afford to return to school full time. My idea was met with little enthusiasm; educators in leadership positions believe that the graduate learning experience must be intensive and full time. Though they offered no explanations for this reasoning, they remain committed to having only daytime residency graduate degrees. One educator felt it would be ten years before serious consideration could be given to offering graduate work at night. No clear, logical, or direct answer was offered on why quality graduate education could not be incorporated into the Ministry of Education's future plans.

National Taiwan Normal University is located in the central part of Taipei, a city of about 3 million people. The university specializes in the training of secondary school teachers, administrators, librarians, college professors, academic support personnel (e.g., counselors), and retraining and upgrading workshops for working teachers. National Normal University offers as part of the regular programs 19 bachelor programs, 13 master's institutes, and three doctoral institutes. There is a teaching staff of 660 full time and 609 part time, and an enrollment of about 9,000 full-time day students and 6,000 regular degree evening students (one cannot be a part-time student or a recurrent learner in any degree program in Taiwan).

The library has 445,000 volumes plus 1,090 periodicals and the university operates on a semester system. Workshops and refresher noncredit courses are available for teachers and administrative personnel. By all indications--quantitative and subjective--National Normal University is one of the very best institutions in Taiwan, attracting with its tuition-free policy intellectual students who are less affluent as well as young men and women from wealthy families who will to become pedagogues.

My main resource person at National Taiwan Normal University was Prof. Yen-ming Fang, Director of Evening Education and Professor of Educational Administration. Educated in Taiwan and Japan, Prof. Fang is a deeply committed, highly motivated, and energetic administrator. His secretary's phone was ringing constantly in the background and his obligations for a given day include teaching, administrative/management duties, counseling students, and general overall control of the evening school. A specialist in Chinese educational philosophy, Director Fang is a most dynamic administrator.

The organizational structure of the Normal University evening school characterizes the arrangement found at virtually all institutions:



1. Assistant Director for Academic Affairs, Evening Programs
2. Assistant Director for Student Affairs and Counseling, Evening Programs
3. Assistant Director for Accounting and Finance, Evening Programs
4. Assistant Director for Personnel Matters, Evening Programs
5. Assistant Director for Library Resources, Evening Programs
6. Assistant Director for General Concerns (problems), Evening Programs

The indivicuals under the director, most of whom hold professional ranks and are affiliated with a department, also teach in the day and evening programs. The academic units that offer degree programs in the evening at Normal University are the following: Education, Chinese Literature, English, History, Geography and Earth Science, Art, Mathematics, Biology, Counseling and Guidance, and Philosophy of Dr. Sun Yat-sen. All assistant directors report to the director who, depending on the situation, reports either directly to the the president or to a vice-president or dean. Director Fang, as well as other heads of evening school programs, has administrative rank equal to that of a vice-president or senior dean.

The original intent of the evening program when it was set up in the mid-1950's was threefold: (1) To increase educational opportunity for young working people; (2) to allow men who had completed their mandatory military service the chance to return to school; (3) to help students improve their job skills and hence their own financial well-being.

Normal University, like other teachers colleges, has a tuition-free policy for the day students, all of whom must teach in the public secondary school system for 3-5 years. Evening students pay tuition and are not under the teacher-service obligation. Prof. Fang indicated that the evening program is basically self-supporting in terms of personnel; tuition is used for professors' salaries. The physical plant and library, however, do not receive tuition monies for their operation and upkeep. This remains the responsibility of the Ministry of Education and its financial base is drawn from the general tax fund.

Students choose evening college degree programs for a number of reasons. Among the most important are finances and the entrance examination placement scores. A student who comes from a poor family and who must work to help support his parents (a very common phenomenon in Taiwan) could not afford to give up a job to attend day college even when tuition is free. Evening school tuition is very low; a young man or woman working full time can make a decent living in the shops or businesses in Taiwan and after hours attend evening college for his degree. This category of pupil makes up the largest single contingent of the evening college enrollees. The second main category consists of students whose scores on the Joint Entrance Examination placed them in a college and/or department that for various reasons was unsatisfactory to them. By taking the evening entrance exams (given by the Ministry of Education some six weeks after the regular test) and gaining a high score they can often be accepted at a better (evening) school and into a program more relevant to their career aspirations. The competition for entrance into evening college is less intensive than for day school, though the examination for admission is equally rigorous. All things being equal, a student would choose to attend day college.

While the traditional B.A. or B.S. degree takes four years or eight consecutive semesters, the evening program in its design is quite different. It is a 5-year degree. Students are required to attend classes from Monday through Saturday, inclusive. Classes meet from 6:30 to 10:05 and also on one Sunday per month. The periodic Sunday meetings are designed to promote school spirit. Guest lecturers are often invited and orientation sessions are included in these Sunday meetings. Evening school degree candidates take the same curriculum as their day school counterparts. Life experience or credit by equivalency exam are not part of the Taiwan educational model.

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All students upon graduating will have taken the same number of classes, been exposed to the same professors, read the same required texts, completed the same term papers, and passed the necessary examinations. The only difference between the day school and the evening school is the number of years and the different hours. Libraries are sensitive to the needs of the evening student and remain open until after class to accommodate these learners as do college bookstores, xerox centers, and student unions. Professors are available before and after class to counsel students about academic problems.

The teaching faculty for evening college is the same as the day staff. Professors are hired from the home institution and paid overload salaries. Legally an instructor can teach three classes above his daytime load. Eighty-five percent of the evening professors are from the regular faculty; the other 15 percent come from government or are hired from institutions that do not have evening degree programs. The pay for evening professors comes out of tuition and is, on a percentage basis (time spent), higher than what they make during their daytime duties. Consequently, competition among the better professors to be selected as evening instructors is quite stiff and the result is that the student gets the elite of the teaching faculty. It is estimated that hourly pay is about 12 to 15 percent higher for teaching at night than in the day program.

One constraint that these programs face is in the area of budget; all evening programs must be self-supporting. Modification of enrollment procedure by the Ministry of Education can interface either in a positive or adverse way with the fiscal base for night college programs. Yet this same economic policy gives evening schools certain freedoms that state-subsidized universities do not have. Less control is exercised over the daily operation

of evening school by the Ministry of Education because the monies used to run the operation come from tuition and not from governmental funding.

One of the major limitations that evening colleges face is the mandatory military service requirement for all men who do not gain acceptance into a regular 4-year bachelor's degree program. Because of this, any male stucent must first complete 20 months of army training prior to applying for evening college. As one administrator pointed out, "This tends to discriminate against night school students who have to first go into the service, in some cases because they simply could not afford to start college immediately after high school." However, this individual also indicated that ex-servicemen were really still very young (20 to 22) and they were oftentimes more motivated. Incidentally, serving in the military of Taiwan is not nearly as unpleasant as in other countries; the military is really a home-based national guard with no overseas commitments. It allows its soldiers to visit home regularly and tends to station the personnel in areas near their families.

The methodology used in teaching at the evening school level is only slightly different from that in day schools. As suggested by Professor Luie, former Director for Evening Study at Tunghai University, the student age-span in the evening school is greater. In day college all are the same age; in night school freshmen are from 18 to 25. This adds a unique flavor to the setting and may improve the teaching/learning experience.

Summer school per se does not exist in Taiwan's college and universities and there are no plans now to offer day or evening credit classes in future summer vacation periods.

When I was ending my interview with Director Fang at his office at National Normal, I asked what his personal philosophy was. I indicated that it was not uncommon for the head person's personal value system to influence the whole organization over which he had charge. Professor Fang stated that he had three main observations about the evening college program that he directed: (1) He hoped to expand educational opportunity for students who could not go to the regular day program; (2) he was both touched and amazed to see how many students, after working 8 to 10 hours a day, would commit themselves to five years of night courses; and (3) he was worried because the reputation of evening colleges was generally below that of traditional day school and this image had to be changed. "The quality and quantity of the learning experience are the same and students who earn their degrees from an evening school should not be looked upon as having a 'second-best' degree." Prof. Fang attributed the stigma to the fact that from the beginning of evening college education in the mid-1950's until the mid-1960's degrees were not available. Rather the programs offered at night were for training and not on an equal level with the academic curriculum in day college.

Perhaps what America can learn from the evening college model in Taiwan is that (1) a central agency to control standards of credit and degree programs is valuable; (2) admission standards must be maintained even at the expense of student enrollment; (3) evening programs should demand the same performance level as day school; (4) when possible, the same faculty and facilities should be used for both evening and day programs; (5) universities should commit themselves to having the campus fully operational from early morning until late at night; and (6) if these things are done the quality of the learning experience will be equal to or better than the regular daytime degree offerings.

NOTES

When I went to Taiwan I had expected to find the night school program there to be both nontraditional and highly flexible. After numerous interviews and after spending many evenings on the campuses of National Normal University, Tunghai University, College of Chinese Culture, and National Taiwan University, my preconceived notions--most of which were based on my experience with evening education in the U.S.--were changed.

The content base of this chapter came from meetings, observation, and interviews. Of great help to me were Professor Fang Yen-Muy, Director of the Evening College, National Normal University, with whom I spent two productive days; Tang Hai-Uui, Professor of History and Director of Evening Studies, Tunghai University; Dr. Yung-hwa Chen, Chairman of the Department of Educational Psychology and Director of the Graduate Institute in Guidance, National Normal University; Dr. Hsun-Huang Michael Hsiao, Associate Fellow, Academia Sinica of Taiwan; Dr. Tseng-Lu Li, Chairman, Department of Social Work, Tunghai University; and Mr. Harold L. K. Siu, Assistant to the President, National Normal University.

Statistical material was gleaned from the 1976 and 1979 Educational Statistics of the Republic of China (Ministry of Education).

Chapter 10

TOWARDS A BETTER LIFE: THE FARMERS ASSOCIATION AND AGRICULTURAL EXTENSION IN TAIWAN

This chapter is divided into two separate parts. Because both areas are related to rural and community development it seems judicious to combine them as one chapter. Each part, however, ends with its own bibliography.

A. THE FARMERS ASSOCIATION: A CATALYSIS FOR LEARNING AND DEVELOPMENT

The Farmers Association, a nongovernmental cooperative organization, has been of importance to the rural peoples of Taiwan since Japanese times. Today, as in those days, the association attempts to introduce new techniques for farming and family care into the rural regions. About 40 percent of the people of the island are involved with agriculture.

The association as it exists today is "a multi-purpose cooperative organization formed by farmers for the purpose of carrying out a number of functions which include (1) promotion of farmers' interest (lobbying), (2) increasing production, (3) betterment of rural living conditions, (4) development of the rural economy, and (5) improvement of their /farmers/ knowledge and skills."

This brief section will address the Farmers Association in modern Taiwan with special emphasis on how it works as a catalyst for the distribution of knowledge and skills. Though not fitting neatly under the category of non-traditional and/or nonformal pedagogics, the Farmers Association does employ in its activities numerous andragological techniques that enrich the lives of rural peoples and enhance their social and economic status.

Of all agencies in Taiwan none has a closer working relationship with the rural farm people than the Farmers Association. This is due in large part to the administrative structure that is used to interface at the most intimate level with almost every farm household on the island (95 percent). The pyramidal structure that currently exists can be diagrammed as follows:

Provincial
Farmers Association (1)

County/City
Farmers Association (19)

Township
Farmers Association (272)

Small Village Units (6,407)

Family Households (952,453)

On an average, there are some 15 small agricultural units in each township, 190 members in each unit, and some 2,900 members in each township association. A household is permitted only one member. In 1979 over 95 percent of all farmers in Taiwan had joined the association as dues-paying members.

Each of the tiers in the organization framework has a specific task that, when interacting with other levels, creates a composite structure. The major function of the Provincial Farmers Association, the highest level in the chart, is to supervise the whole system, to be accountable for the financial vitality of the association, to audit the books regularly, to train lower-level persons who themselves have some administrative or training duties, and to coordinate and assist lower levels of the association throughout the province in the improvement and expansion of service-oriented duties. The County/City Farmers Association has many of the same duties as are found at the provincial level. Its main duties are to supervise and aid through technical assistance programs at the township level. A vital link in the total

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picture of the Farmers Association is the Township Association. These are in constant and protracted contact with the farmers and serve them with numerous activities, some of which will be discussed later in this section. The small agricultural unit in the Farmers Association (between the Household and Township), the Village, is charged with working as a bridge between the Township Association and its members and assisting the association in distributing new information, techniques, and farming methods. It serves as a link in the election process that creates in the Farmers Association a representative/democratic model.

The members of each village unit of the association elect a "small unit head" who becomes the Farmers Association agent in the village. The members' representative assembly, which is made up of these elected farmers, becomes the highest authority. Beneath the members' representative assembly is the board of directors which is elected by the members of the assembly. Its major function is to set policy and work as a steering committee for the assembly. The board of supervisors, which is also elected by the representatives assembly, is responsible for financial and audit controls while the unit head, who is part of the assembly, has the job of distributing association literature and notifying members of classes, demonstrations, and meetings.

Membership in the various levels of the Farmers Association may be achieved in two distinctive ways: (1) Any person who is 20 or older and is engaged in the profession of farming is eligible. This includes an owner-operator, a tenant farmer, a farm worker, a person who has been active in research and/or publication in the field of agricultural sciences, and persons who are employees of a lawfully registered farm. These are termed "regular members" and are eligible to be elected to the hierarchy of the association.

The second type of membership--"associate member"-- is achieved by residing for a pre-stated period of time within the area under the local Farmers Association. In this category one need not be directly involved with farming. Associate members are not entitled to be part of the election process. "The number of regular members of all farmers associations in Taiwan at the end of 1978 is 696,831 or 73 percent of the total membership. The number of associate members is 255,522 or 27 percent of the total membership." (Statement of Farmers Association in Taiwan, Department of Farm Services, Counsel for Agricultural Planning and Development, Nov. 1979.)

All members pay dues to the administrative level above theirs. Hence the farm household pays a very small yearly tax to the small agricultural unit at the village level. These monies (which in terms of the U.S.-Taiwan exchange ratio are hard to evaluate vis-a-vis purchasing vividity) provide numerous services to the farmers, including credit aid for new farmers and families who are experimenting with innovative activities, fertilizer distribution, rice collection, storage and processing, and cooperative machine purchasing activities for the betterment of the farmer. By pooling the Farmers Association finds a better usage of monies and materials results.

Agricultural extension education programs are also an important area in which the Farmers Association funds are used. The three major services provided by the Extension Service in Taiwan are (1) 4-H Club organization, (2) home economics and demonstration activities, and (3) agricultural improvement services. Insurance for animals, provision for in-service training for selected members of the farming establishment, and artificial insemination are included in the services that are purchased by the pooled monies of the local associations.

Because the profit margin in farming in Taiwan is small, farmers have worked cooperatively in marketing, purchasing, and selling their goods. Through this means the association assures their members higher net profit from the farming business. It also makes capital and cash-flow formation feasible and enhances developmental investments.

The main objective of the Farmers Association is to enhance the lives of peoples in the agricultural sector. Through economic aids, cooperativeness, funding, and coordinated efforts, this is being done. Techniques to improve farming and lifestyles in farm areas are also an important part of Farmers Association. Through meetings and demonstration new ideas are openly discussed and brought back to the farm. Literature and research findings from the departments of agriculture and sciences at various universities also are made available to farmers. Consultants sponsored by the association bring the latest information on animal and plant growth and care to the rural areas and through the structure of the Farmers Association are able to distribute this. The results of the structure that now exists--the Taiwan Farmers Assocation--has improved the lives of farm peoples and helped to close the economic and social gap between rural and urban life.

As Bernard Gallin suggests in his excellent book, Hsin Hsing, Taiwan: A Chinese Village in Change (pp. 69-74), farmers and staff members of the association generally believe that the farmers' lives have been made better through the reforms and activities of the Farmers Association. Gallin suggests, however, that some degree of mistrust exists between the small farm member and the upper echelon of the association, basically in the area of monies and credit. Yet on the whole the system does function effectively and enhances a socially stable, basically self-sufficient agricultural system

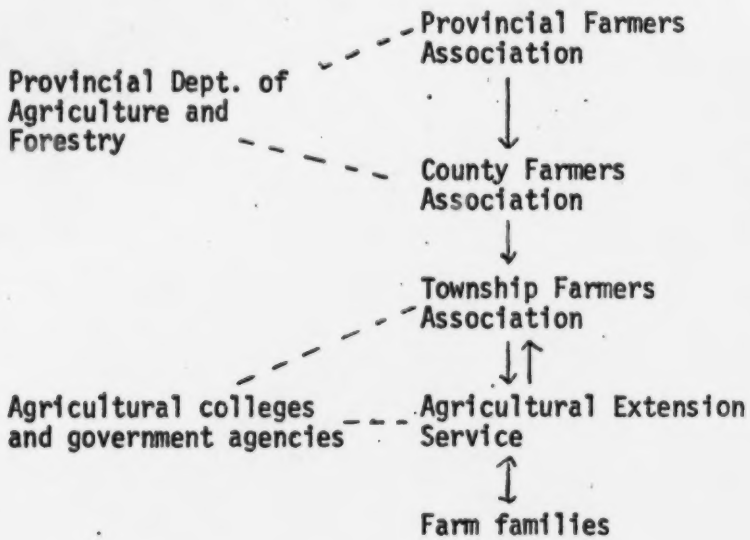
(85 percent of the foodstuff needed for the population of 17 million can be grown on the island or found in the surrounding waters) for the peoples of the island of Formosa.

NOTES

In developing this section on the Farmers Association I relied heavily on interviews that I held at National Taiwan University in Taipei. These extended over a period of three days. The professors with whom I met and talked were: Dhing-Yung Liu, Professor, Department of Agriculture; Hong-chin Tsai, Professor, Department of Agricultural Extension; and Prof. Cheng-Hung Liao, Department of Agricultural Extension. Also, meetings with Yu-Lung Kiang, Professor and Director, Environmental Research Center, Tenghai University, and Mr. Tseng Kuo-Cheng of the Provincial Government of Taiwan were of value. Bernard Gallin's book, Hsin Hsing, Taiwan, A Village in Change (Univ. of Calif., 1966) was an excellent introduction to both rural life and the Farmers Association. Also I relied on documents and printed material given me by the Department of Agriculture Extension at National Taiwan University. The most valuable of these was Statement of Farmers Association in Taiwan (Department of Farmers Services, Council for Agricultural Planning and Development, 1979). Much of what appears in this section is a distillation of that paper and the interviews mentioned above.

B. AGRICULTURAL EXTENSION EDUCATION: RURAL ACADEMICS

The Extension Service as it operates in modern Taiwan differs significantly from the Cooperative Extension programs that exist in the United States. Rather than being directly under the auspices of a governmental agency (such as the Department of Agriculture) and having line affiliation with universities, the Taiwan Extension Service is under the Provincial Farmers Association, a nongovernmental cooperative organization. The structural chart for Extension is as follows:



With only indirect, advisement-related affiliation with colleges, the Extension Service takes on an autonomy that is quite different from this same organization in America. Yet the ideals of extension are similar to those that we hold in American extension work.

Agricultural extension is a process that encourages farmers to develop new techniques for their farms and teaches them, in various innovative ways, methods to improve their crop output, their economic status, and their lives.

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Extension in Taiwan attempts to be "process-" as opposed to "task-" oriented. In his book, A Study of Resident Participation in Community Development Programs in Taiwan (Economic Review of the International Commercial Bank of China, Taiwan, 1979), Dr. Tseng-lu Jack Li, professor of social work at Tunghai University, details the differences in these two change-phenomena vis-a-vis Taiwan. By "task-oriented change" is meant a reliance of a community on an outside agency to use governmental monies and professional talent to bring about change or modification. "Process-oriented change" refers to the community initiating change or modification of institutions on its own, relying on needs assessments, evaluations, follow-up studies, and local initiative.

In process-oriented change, the system that is begun does not stop when the chore is completed; it continues or moves on to the next level of development. Task-oriented change denotes the single job-to-be-done syndrome. Once it is finished there no longer is a need for the outside agency to remain part of the town's or village's infrastructure. The goal of the Extension Service is to move communities from dependence on external forces so that they become self-reliant.

Farmers, of all members of Taiwan society, are most conservative. They must be convinced beyond doubt that the new methods will be as successful as the old. With this in mind, Extension Service personnel have established a philosophy based on a number of ideals:

(1) Cooperation. In recent years an effort has been made to draw the Farmers Association, governmental agencies, extension personnel, and university specialists together to function as a team and to act as change agents in rural enrichment.

(2) Educational approach. The method used in the past to encourage farmers to try new farm techniques was through financial incentives. Recently an educational approach has been started. Visual aids, reference materials, group meetings, method and result demonstrations, and frequent contact with the farmer by the local Extension Service agent have all been more valuable in moving the agriculture society from the task- to the process-oriented model for change.

Extension personnel play a key role in the success of the Extension Service movement. National Taiwan University has the best department for the education of agricultural extension workers, a profession that carries with it dignity and respect. The degree program melds traditional studies in agricultural sciences, courses in sociology, economics, and teaching methodology. Professors in this department, besides their teaching duties, are charged with preparing printed materials relevant to the needs of the farm community, sponsoring in-service workshops for Farmers Association personnel and new extension workers, providing technical assistance to the Township Farmers Association, and carrying on research in the field of agricultural and rural development. Agricultural Improvement Stations (experimental centers) are also jointly administered by the government, the Farmers Association, and academics from departments of agriculture of various universities.

Numerous forms of instruction are provided by the township-level Extension Service agent. Demonstrations, audiovisual presentations, and group discussions have proven most successful. Besides the work done with farmers, classes in sewing, home and health care, food storage and preparation, and leadership training are also held regularly. Workshops in child rearing, environment improvement and beautification, and handicrafts are

developed for local community consumption through the efforts of the Extension Services. When an agent visits a local area, farmers will gather, usually forming a circle around the guest, and openly exchange ideas on techniques and new methods they have found successful. The agent works as a catalysis for discussion and, when asked, presents new ideas to the group. The democratic outdoor learning session -- whereby the agent comes to the farmers' lands -- has proven most successful in breaking down communication constraints.

The main thrust of the extension program remains in the area of agriculture. Small farmers are taught how to best utilize their plat of land (farms in Taiwan, due to land reform measures in the early 1950's, are rather small and intensively farmed) by growing the most profitable crops and using scientific cultivation methods. Model farms are set up to show the best ways to achieve maximum productivity. Stated succinctly, the extension programs have taught the farmers of Taiwan to increase their crop production and to live richer, safer, and healthier lives.

NOTES

In preparing this section a number of published works were used: Liao, Cheng-hung, Socio-Economic Change in Rural Taiwan (Dept. of Agricultural Extension, National Taiwan Univ., 1979); Bernard Gallin, Hsin Hsing Taiwan, A Chinese Village in Change (Univ. of Calif. Press, 1966); and Agricultural Extension Work in Taiwan (Farmers Service Division, Joint Commission on Rural Reconstruction, 1977).

Interviews with Dr. Tseng-lu Jack Li, Professor of Social Work, Tunahai University, Prof. Cheng-hung Liao, Chairman, Dept. of Agricultural Extension, National Taiwan University, and Prof. Hong-Chin Tsai, Dept. of Agricultural Extension, National Taiwan University, all helped me better understand the Extension Service in Taiwan. An excellent and scholarly journal, Review of Agricultural Extension Services (The Graduate Institute of Agricultural Extension, College of Agriculture, National Taiwan Univ.) was of limited aid in preparing this section. The Review, which is published yearly, is the definitive work on the Extension Service. Scholars from many disciplines have articles in these journals. My inability to read Chinese (the Review is published in Chinese with English abstracts) limited its usefulness to me.

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Chapter 11

4-H CLUB PROGRAMS: A UNIQUE EDUCATIONAL APPROACH TO ASSIST TAIWAN'S RURAL PEOPLES

Sze Chien Hui is the name given to one of Taiwan's most successful non-formal educational programs. It literally means a club for the development of a sound mind, a sound heart, sound hands, and sound health. The name was given to the 4-H club movement by one of Taiwan's most eminent and enduring educators, the late Dr. Chiang Monlin (discussed elsewhere in this book), who was one of the pioneer supporters for the improvement of the status of rural youth. Dr. Chiang Monlin was also a leading force in the Joint Commission on Rural Reconstruction (JCRR) which was founded as a Chinese-American cooperative agricultural effort. It lasted until 1979 when U.S.-Taiwan official governmental relations were terminated. During the nearly 30 years that the JCRR was in operation, land reform, improved crop yield, better health conditions, and numerous community action organizations for local self-betterment and community self-reliance were founded. One of these was Sze Chien Hui.

In this section the 4-H movement in Taiwan will be discussed -- how it was formed, its early history and successes, and what this unique educational organization is currently doing to improve the lives of the people of the island.

The foundation of the 4-H movement in Taiwan can be discovered in a number of historical and societal phenomena which dominated the rural peoples of the nation. Because of the poor distribution of land and, more importantly, because Taiwan has such limited agricultural/farm lands available for crop and animal growth, the income of farmers and their

families has historically been far below that of urban workers. With limited opportunities for economic self-betterment, young men in large numbers were leaving the farm to take employment in city areas. The potential problems associated with this (in any society) are twofold: (1) The need for food for the expanding society could be jeopardized; and (2) large numbers of unskilled (in urban/factory skills) rural men and women arriving in cities create the potential to cause social and economic upheaval. Several sociological factors have been identified that interface with rural youth-oriented issues. Family control in the farm family is much stronger--paternalistic--than in non-rural families; boys are of a much higher status than girls; people in predominantly farm areas are much more religious and fatalistic in their outlook; a present, and even past, orientation tends to dominate thinking; education is limited in rural areas and the average number of years of school attended is a good deal less than in non-farm areas; the extended family plays a very pronounced role in the lives of rural peoples; and opportunities for employment outside of the farm are very limited.

These were all issues that were evident in rural Taiwan since the mid-1940's when the island retroceded to China. Many of them were of concern to Chinese educators and governmental leaders; yet to bring about rapid social and economic change to the rural household was untenable. A balance had to be created whereby rural young people could have their lives improved while maintaining the values of farm life and the economic foundation of Taiwan--agriculture.

Statistics also convinced the educational leaders of Taiwan that an organization for youth was needed. About one million young persons, ages 13-22, were out of school and not able to locate jobs outside of the farm

setting. The only way that these and future generations of young farm people could be helped was through a formal program. With the advice of numerous American educators, particularly Cornell University's W. A. Anderson and JCRR's representative A. J. Brundage, the concept of 4-H was developed in Taiwan. The United States, which in the early 1950's was the major supply of funds for Taiwan, had had a successful 4-H model for many years; leaders in Taiwan, rather than attempting to construct a unique organization, chose to accept the 4-H configuration that had already proven successful in the States. The U.S. also agreed to assist with 4-H development through the JCRR framework. The earliest goals of 4-H were (1) to develop demonstration projects that would interest large groups of rural youth; (2) to establish pilot projects that, if successful, could be used in other areas; and (3) to confine the earliest work of the project exclusively to rural young people.

The first 4-H clubs in Taiwan were organized in 1952 in seven regional vocational schools. Also, for demonstration purposes, four areas were selected: (1) Ilan on the northeastern coast, (2) Taoyuan on the northwestern part of the island, (3) Taichung on the western part of the island, and (4) Chiayi in the south central section of Taiwan. The success of the demonstration centers, which showed better ways to grow crops and animals, was such that 4-H became popular with the young rural peoples of these areas. Other clubs began to develop, and a sophisticated network of clubs, governmental advisers, and volunteer adult supervision at the local level all interacted to make the movement a success.

The organization of the local 4-H club in Taiwan is similar to what has developed in the U.S. The one major difference in the Chinese and American systems is that in the U.S. 4-H is under the Cooperative Extension

Service, which is administered by the state land grant university system. In Taiwan the university is replaced the Provincial Farmers Association which has administrative responsibility for the 4-H movement.

Sze Chien Hui clubs normally have as a meeting center either a vocational school or a village community center. One or more adult volunteer leaders who are familiar with agricultural life must be willing to take part in the organization. Five young people, age 13-24, are needed for a local club to begin. A president, vice-president, and secretary are democratically chosen from this group and a working plan for one year must be developed. Clubs that qualify are awarded a charter either by the Provincial Department of Agriculture, the Provincial Department of Education, or the Farmers Association.

4-H clubs work under different organizational frameworks in Taiwan. Some are under the provincial school system, others the county or city schools, and the last group falls under the village. Following is the rather elaborate organizational chart of 4-H programs in Taiwan:

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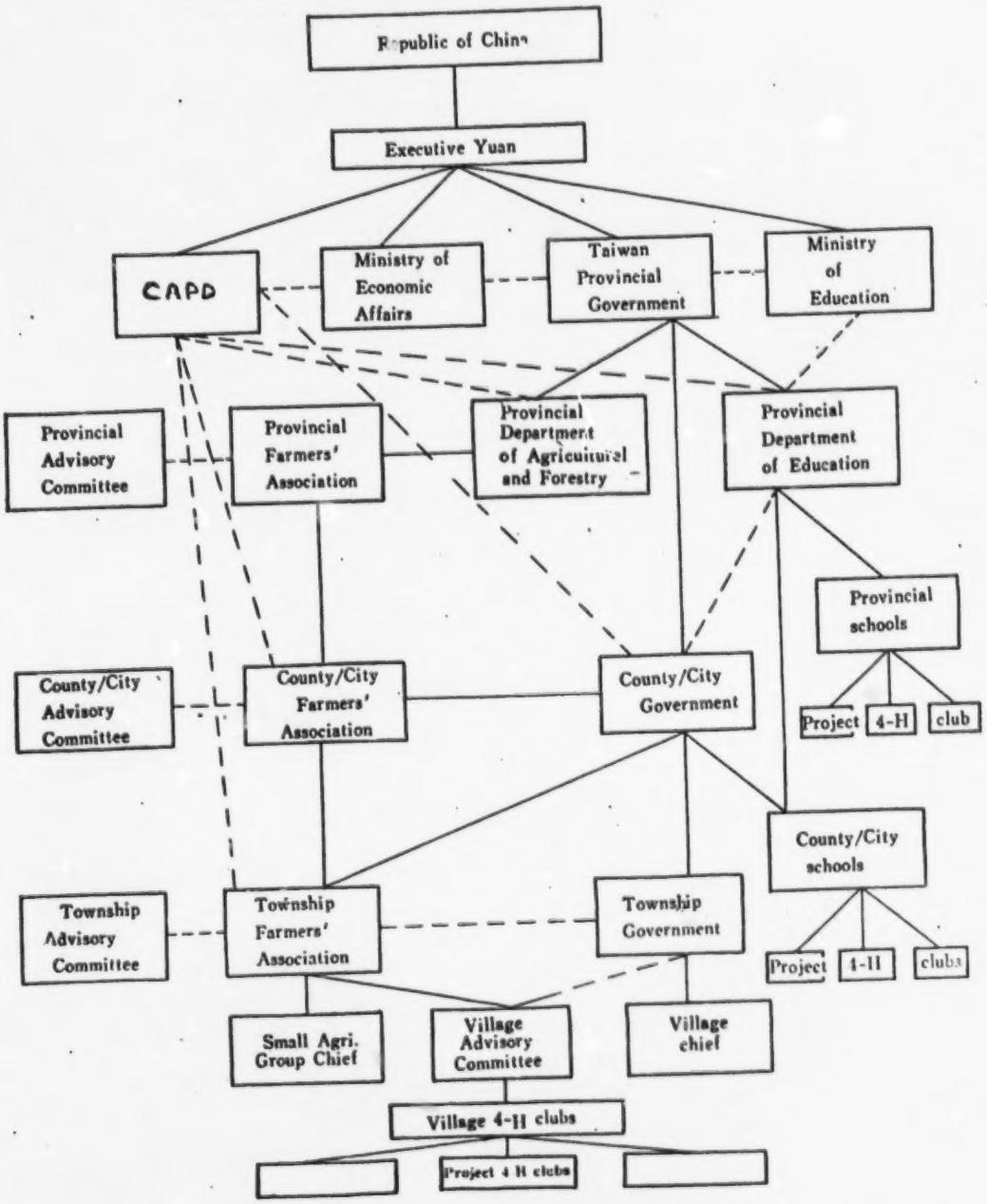
Organization Chart of 4-H Club Programs



4-H programs have grown greatly over the past two decades. In 1969 they reached their peak and since then they have become smaller. This decline is due largely to financial difficulties at the local level and the movement of young people from farm areas into the cities. There are currently enrolled in the village and city 4-H programs about 50,000 young people. In 1969, the peak year, there were 85,000.

Sze Chien Hui, like 4-H in America, is activities and process oriented. Individual projects make up an important part of the self-learning that is so important to the clubs. When selecting a project the young man or woman takes into consideration the needs of his family and community and the advisement of the adult volunteer. Because rice is such an important part of the Chinese diet (equal to potatoes and all grain products in the American dining pattern), many of the individual and group projects deal with this. Below is a table that shows the various practices that were experimented with by 4-H rice members:

I. Good soil preparation
   1. Early deep plowing
   2. Thorough soil preparation

II. Better rice seedlings for transplanting
   1. Plant the best varieties for the area
   2. Salt water testing of seeds
   3. Germination testing of seeds
   4. Treatment of seeds with Granosan
   5. Improved seedbeds
   6. Thin sowing of rice in seedbeds
   7. Spraying seedbeds to control insects and plant diseases

III. Good paddy practices
   1. Deep application of fertilizer
   2. Straight row planting
   3. Shallow transplanting
   4. Thorough timely weeding
   5. Supplementary application of fertilizers
   6. Spraying paddy in infested areas
   7. Wise use of water

IV. Good harvesting and storing practices
   1. Harvesting the crop as soon as possible
   2. Thorough drying
   3. Sale of surpluses

Also emphasized are other aspects of good farming, particularly (1) keeping accurate production records, (2) improving poultry production, (3) controlling plant disease, (4) producing pork more efficiently, (5) conducting meetings in a democratic format, and (6) learning to speak with confidence in front of a group.

Perhaps the most successful educational aspect of Sze Chien Hui is the method it uses to disseminate new ideas and information through the rural communities of Formosa. Rather than teachers of agricultural sciences going into the field to explain disease prevention techniques or better paddy drainage systems, 4-H uses the "demonstration method." In this a young man or woman, using the latest information and scientific findings and under the supervision of a 4-H mentor, attempts to produce a higher yield crop or a larger and healthier animal. Periodically these products are shown and judged. If, for example, a young man is the first in his village to use certain fungus-fighting chemicals on leafy green legumes and this enhances their growth and market value, the traditionalists in the area who are attending the fair or judging the contest may be willing to change their lifelong habits and experiment with this new chemical. Rural areas are the hardest into which change can be brought. The "demonstration method," with local boys and girls competing and showing their successes, has proven to be an excellent change-agent device in these rural farm communities. Often assisted by professors of agriculture from National Taiwan University (the main agricultural science school in Taiwan), local 4-H clubs have had success in introducing new techniques and ideas into the local setting. Parents and community members take pride in the village children and their successes in Sze Chien Hui and appear willing to change their farming and life styles if through "demonstration" they can be shown that innovative models are more productive and successful than traditional ones.

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Besides activities related directly to farming, 4-H in Taiwan takes on other projects. Vocational skill training for 4-H club members in the areas of sewing, beekeeping, music, and product processing have been some of the most successful. These enable the young farm child as he matures the opportunity to earn extra money while engaged in agricultural work. Career guidance programs are also part of the educational activities in many clubs. Numerous young men are currently engaged in mechanical training that is sponsored by local 4-H clubs, while young women take part in home improvement projects. These are related to health, cooking, and general family management. "Contemporary skills" training is also part of what 4-H has attempted to do in recent years. Activities related to the increase in urbanization have been emphasized, such as automobile driving and maintenance. The following is a chart that reflects the 4-H Vocational Skill Training projects, 1968-1976:

Summarized Results of
4-H Vocational Skill Training
1968 – 1976

Nature of training	No. of classes conducted	No. of participants	Period of training (month)
Lathe operation	3	75	4–8
Farm machine repairing	17	334	3
Agricultural production processing	31	797	3–4
Use of abacus	40	1,600	3
Automobile driving	45	1,160	3–6
Electrical appliances repairing	14	410	3–6
Artificial pearls manufacturing	1	75	3
Wood carving	16	410	3–6
Bamboo weaving	1	25	6–8
Reproduction of antiques	1	25	6–12
Tractor repairing	13	270	¼–6
Manufacturing of marble products	1	25	3–8
Embroidery	1	60	3–6
Knot-Tie-Dyeing	2	130	3–6
Dressmaking	103	2,756	3–8
Use of sprayers for plant protection	27	216	3–4
4-H band	127	2,747	3
Knitting	1	30	3
Motorcycle repairing	15	445	3–6
Operation of farm machines	35	335	¼–4
Total	494	11,925	

One of the most important goals of 4-H is to create in the membership a sense of democracy and fellowship. Clubs have as part of their programs an emphasis on cooperation and democratic methods for reaching decisions and selecting leaders. Orderly conduct, respect for the adult volunteers and professionals, and a willingness to work together play a major part in the school and village Sze Chien Hui meetings.

The success of the 4-H movement from its inception in 1952 to the present is due in large part to the 4,000 voluntary leaders who have given generously of their time. The average leader annually spends from one to three weeks directly involved in activities related to the clubs. 4-H has also a community service dimension. As demonstrations of better agricultural life and home living are presented, members of the town or village are able to grasp new concepts for improving their own lives. The demonstration method has proved to be the most successful model for bringing change to rural areas.

Personnel of Sze Chien Hui must undergo supervised training to be part of the organization. Most professional and volunteer leaders were themselves 4-Hers when they were young, so they have some familiarity with the structure and expectations of the organization. Under the village 4-H program, training for volunteer leaders is sponsored by the township's Farmers Association (discussed elsewhere in this chapter). All-day preservice training sessions are held when a village establishes a club. Also subject matter training sessions (e.g., farm economic management) are often held. School 4-H programs have a 4-day intensive training program for teachers who are to become voluntary leaders.

Most professional 4-H workers are graduates of senior vocation agricultural schools. They attend a one-week workshop before they are employed

by the Farmers Association as club directors. All of these professionals participate in subject-matter workshops and summer school; this assures that they are current with the relevant literature and ideas necessary to their position. Role-playing, films, lectures, reading material, and discussion are the methods used in teaching and upgrading the professional 4-H workers. Also, field work is required of all professional leaders. This assures that they have empathy with the life of the farm child. Professional workers who prove themselves to be exceptional are given the opportunity to take leave with full pay and attend college for one academic year. They are expected to return to their positions with greater knowledge in and enthusiasm for their positions.

Provincial specialists who work with the professional 4-H agents are always graduates of 4-year college programs. These men and women who work for the Provincial Farmers Association (the equivalent of a state department of agriculture in the U.S.) are usually in supervisory positions and are available to offer advice to local clubs and the local leadership.

Most training programs, be they for the volunteer or the professional, are paid for by the government, particularly the Provincial Department of Agriculture and Forestry and the Provincial Farmers Association. Unlike the U.S., 4-H in Taiwan has no direct relationship to the universities of the nation; rather the Farmers Association takes the place of the state university Cooperative Extension Service.

The achievements of Sze Chien Hui are numerous. Morale of rural youth is enhanced, as is the life of farm people. Modern farming and living practices, particularly health-related topics, have been spread through rural areas. Pride in farm life has also been fostered. The trend that was evident in the 1950's and 1960's--of a wider economic gap between rural life and urban life--has been changed. Fewer young people are seeking to

leave the farm areas and more young people have found part-time employment in factory-related jobs that allow them to remain on the family farm and yet increase the family's annual income. Rice, sweet potato, onion, and livestock production have all been measurably improved, and Taiwan today is 85 percent self-sufficient in food. The 4-H demonstration teaching method has played an important part in this area of economic development.

A side effect of 4-H, according to Dr. T. H. Shen, a former JCRR consultant, is that problems of juvenile delinquency that have become significant in urban areas have been lessened in the rural areas. 4-H programs which give farm youth a positive social and emotional outlet have helped in this regard.

The achievements of 4-H in Taiwan have had two major effects that define the potential of this type of learning experience in nations that are predominantly agrarian: (1) Rural youth are seen by themselves and by the society as the greatest potential asset for the betterment of their nation; and (2) the active participation of rural youth in any project produces a patulous effect which can lead to better living conditions for all persons associated with farm life.

NOTES

In preparing this chapter I was fortunate to spend two days with the National Director of Sze Chien Hui in Taiwan, Ching-Yung Liu, Professor of Agriculture, National Taiwan University. Other interviews were held with Cheng-Hung Liao, Chairman, Department of Agricultural Extension, National Taiwan University, and Hong-Chin Tsai, Professor, Department of Agricultural Extension, National Taiwan University. The most valuable printed matter on the subject is Sino-American Joint Commission on Rural Construction, et al, Sze Chien Hui: 4-H Club Programs in the Republic of China (Fu-Hsin Printing Co., Taipei, 1977), which was given to me by Prof. Liu while I was visiting National Taiwan University, March 1980.

Chapter 12

AN EMPHASIS ON YOUTH

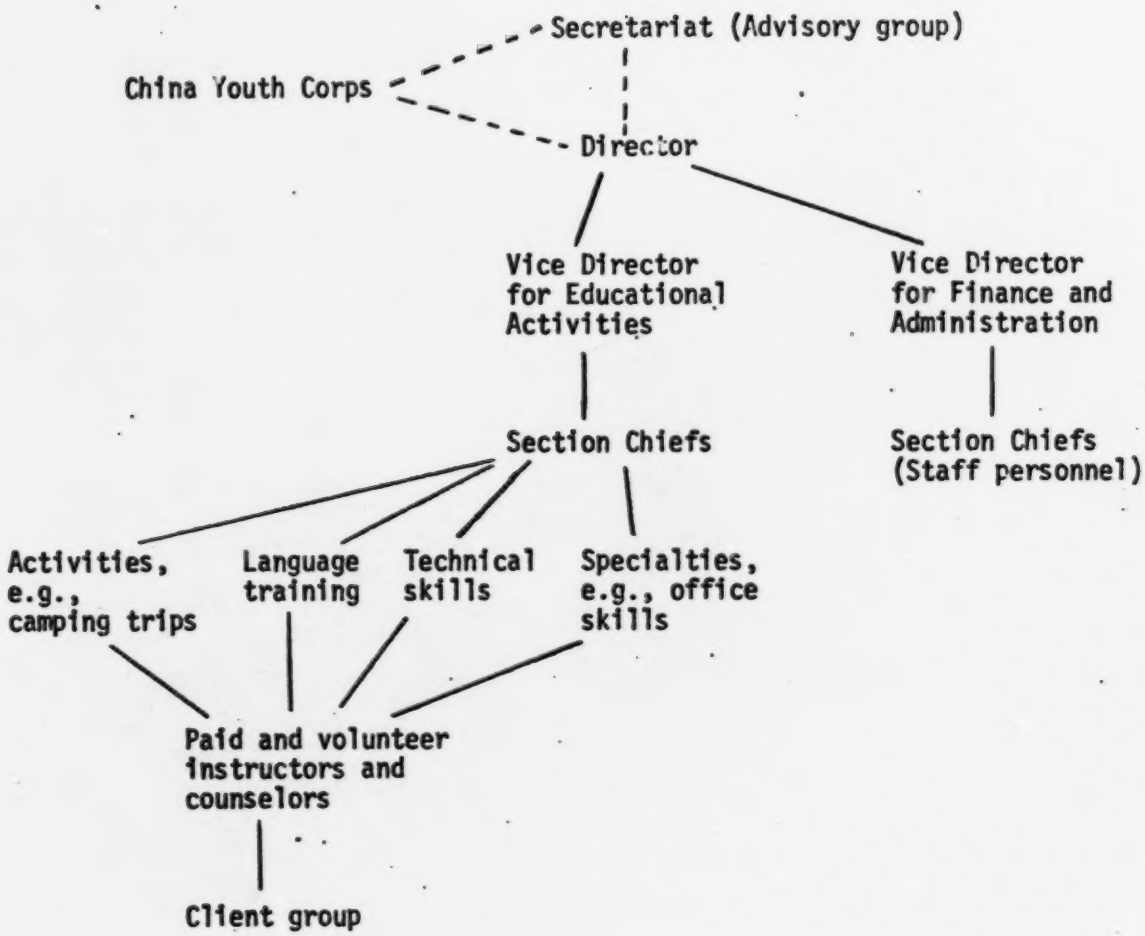
This chapter combines research on two youth-oriented services in Taiwan. The uniqueness of each organization is enhanced by addressing them separately. Ending each part of this chapter is the Notes section relevant to the specific area that has been discussed.

A. CHINA YOUTH SERVICE ASSOCIATION: A NON-TRADITIONAL TRAINING-EDUCATIONAL CENTER

Founded in the spring of 1952, the China Youth Service Association (CYSA) has played a major role in non-traditional education in Taiwan. The headquarters for the organization are located at the Dr. Sun Yat-sen Center and share facilities with the "Teacher Chang" counseling facility.

CYSA exists as a conduit whereby young people learn skills, crafts, and academic subject matter. Its stated goals are to "help youth in their intellectual and physical development and to train them for national reconstruction."

The organizational structure of CYSA is as follows:


Secretariat (Advisory group)
China Youth Corps
Director
Vice Director for Educational Activities
Vice Director for Finance and Administration
Section Chiefs
Section Chiefs (Staff personnel)
Activities, e.g., camping trips
Language training
Technical skills
Specialties, e.g., office skills
Paid and volunteer instructors and counselors
Client group

The China Youth Service Association is one of a number of semi-independent organizations under the general auspices of the China Youth Corps, a quasi-governmental organization which can be traced to the early 1950's. The funding base for CYSA is from monies collected from clients in the form of tuition payments. Neither public funds nor private foundation support is used to sponsor the numerous programs put on each year.

Language training is one of the most successful divisions of the Association. University professors and expatriates residing in Taiwan are hired to teach courses in English, Japanese, Arabic (the three most popular), German, French, Spanish, Portuguese, and Korean. The various Chinese dialects, e.g., Taiwanese, are also taught at the center. Clients participating in the courses generally do so for one of three reasons: (1) They plan to go abroad for graduate study and need to improve their language skills to pass the TOFEL (language) examination or to do better in the courses and research they hope to pursue abroad; (2) to enhance their advantage in international business and trade; or (3) to gain a certificate of language accomplishment which can be used in applying for a position in a foreign-owned company in Taiwan or in a company overseas. The language courses are very intensive with each segment lasting for one and a half months; a student could, in theory, register for eight periods of progressively advanced language study in one year. According to Mr. J. F. Lie, an administrator at CYSA, students finishing ten units of study would be able to speak, read, and write the foreign language with advanced standing. In some cases, if students need study beyond what is normally scheduled, special instructors are employed. One of the unique features of the Association is its willingness to develop new courses and programs when a client group is identified. Annually there are nearly 35,000 registrants in the language program, which makes it the most popular of all units in the CYSA offering.

The methodology employed in the language training center is to immerse the student into the necessary aspects of the language he wishes to learn. Tapes, records, discussion, and foreign scholars are all used to do this. Literary refinement is secondary to speaking and writing, and homework assignments are a necessary part of the program which is most popular in the summer months.

Special training in fields of study other than language are also available. The specific course areas can be divided into the following: Sewing, music, calligraphy, painting, cooking, TV and radio arts, Chinese typewriter usage, drawing, shorthand, photography, accounting, stock investment, piano and guitar, and folk dancing. Many of these short courses and workshops are for college students and other young women and men who are eager to find ways to supplement their incomes and fill their spare time. No fixed amount of time is predetermined for any class; the nature of the subject is what determines how many sessions the students meet. This type of flexibility, though causing headaches for the administrative offices, has proved to be very successful. Each year there are more than 600 short courses and workshops with some 20,000 participants. Most are held in the summer, though an ongoing evening schedule also exists. No formal credits or college units are given for any of these learning experiences. A certificate of completion is available upon request by the student.

Technical training is available for youth who need to be mainstreamed into the industrial life of Taiwan, particularly those who migrate from the rural areas. Auto mechanics and electric machinery repair are the two major areas of interest now sponsored by the technical training division of CYSA.

Recreational activities for youth have been and continue to be a major emphasis for CYSA. Volunteers, most of whom are teachers, take students

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mountain climbing and to the numerous summer and vacation retreats owned by the China Youth Corps. The professional staff monitors the summer and vacation recreation programs and assures that they are of the highest level. Guest speakers from the government present lectures at these retreats; and though the focus of the talks is often related to politics, the environment created at the lodges is one of relaxation and camaraderie. Some 50,000 youngsters take part in the CYSA recreational program each year. The modest fee allows youngsters who could not otherwise afford a vacation the chance to spend one or two weeks in the mountains. Incidentally, youngsters who cannot afford tuition may have it waived.

Success of a program effort can be determined in many ways. The overall completion for CYSA courses and workshops is about 60 percent. Administrators at the Dr. Sun Yat-sen Center believe that the main reason the completion ratio is not higher is related to three factors: (1) Job changes take persons from the facility; (2) families move in the middle of a program; (3) students cannot keep up with the pace set by the teacher or the class.

Teaching quality appears to be very high at the CYSA. Because students are free to select the course and the instructor they want, it becomes clear rather quickly which teachers are popular and successful. Those who are not are simply not rehired. Payment of teachers is based on enrollment; this is an added incentive to the pedagogue to be prepared for each class. Information about courses and programs is sent to young people through schools, and regular announcements appear in the newspapers of Taiwan and on radio spots.

Most of the personnel who have leadership positions in CYSA come from the fields of education, social work, or political science. Virtually all have the BA/BS degree; many have the master's.

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Mr. Jung-Fung Lie, the department head for the Studies and Research Division of CYSA, indicated that the main problems associated with the organization are: (1) More up-to-date equipment is needed to help train people in vocational and language skills; (2) there is greater need for in-service type meetings for the staff; (3) more information should be secured from the participants on their level of satisfaction; and (4) follow-up studies are needed to determine the long-range success of the programs.

One senses, after meeting with the professional and volunteer staff at the China Youth Service Association, a deep commitment on their part to help younger and older adults (the average age is in the mid-20's) improve their lives through education and spirited cooperation.

NOTES

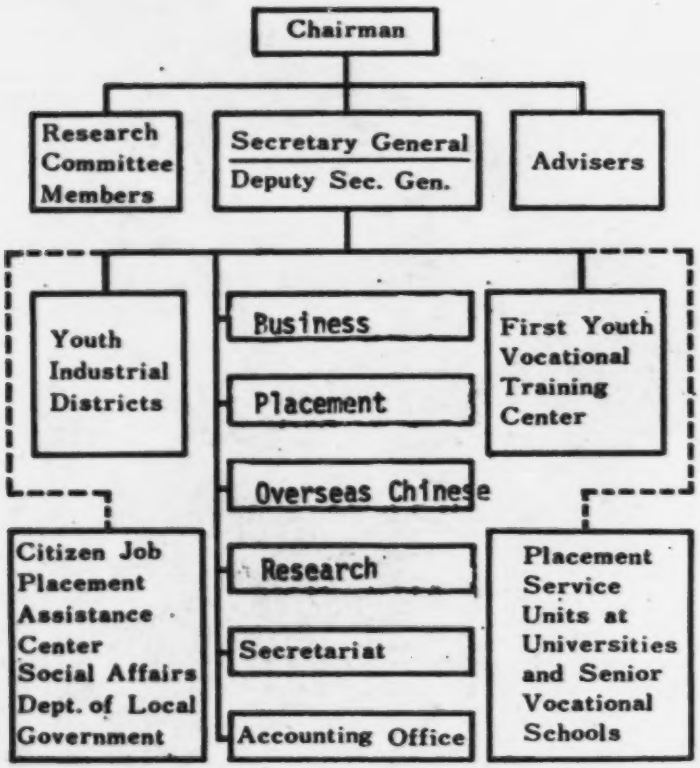
This section was written from notes taken at a 4-hour meeting at Dr. Sun Yat-sen Center in Taipei. The people with whom I spoke were Ghea-Hung Tsie, Director of Chinese Youth Service Association, and Jung-Fung Lie, Department Head for Research Studies, CYSA. Students and volunteer personnel also assisted me in my research. My wife aided me in the translation at these sessions. Statistical material comes from the two-page "Report of the China Youth Association" (1979) published yearly by that agency.

B. THE YOUTH GUIDANCE SERVICE: OVERSEAS CHINESE SCHOLARS

In 1966 the Executive Yuan (cabinet) formally created the National Youth Commission. The chairman and 19 commissioners who preside over the operation of the service are appointed by the Premier. These men and women are ranking government operatives and experts in various fields relevant to the commission's work. Their appointment enhances the smooth running of the commission.

The Youth Guidance Service consists of four main departments: (1) Business and Investment, (2) Job Placement, (3) Overseas Chinese Scholars and Students Service Center, and (4) Research Center on Youth Problems. Though each of these departments deserves full attention, this section will focus exclusively on Overseas Chinese Scholars and Students Service Center. The reason for choosing this department of the Youth Guidance Service is twofold: (1) I spent the better part of two days in meetings with Dr. I-Yang Cheng, the department chairman, and (2) the other activities provided by the service, though of great aid to the society of Taiwan, are similar to programs discussed elsewhere in this book, while the Overseas Scholars Center is unique and imaginative. The complete organizational chart of the Youth Guidance Service in Taiwan is as follows:

ORGANIZATION



The Overseas Chinese Scholars and Students Service Center is located in the National Youth Commission building complex in downtown Taipei. Directed by Dr. I-Yang Cheng, who holds a Ph.D. degree in electrical engineering from Tulane University, the Center has as its raison de'etre "to strengthen coordination and services to Chinese overseas scholars and students" and, according to Dr. Cheng, "assuring overseas Chinese scholars that they can return home (Taiwan) and have a job. We also try to assist them in retaining a strong identity with their culture and society."

In the 1960's and 1970's Taiwan was in the throes of a "brain-drain." Scholars who earned their terminal degree in the U.S., Japan, or Europe would often remain in their new country as either permanent residents or citizens. Positions for these overseas Chinese scholars were abundant. The government of Taiwan has consistently tried to encourage these overseas Chinese who have excellent academic credentials to consider returning to Taiwan as either visiting scholars or residents. Dr. Cheng defines an overseas Chinese in this way: "A person who was born in China and received the BA/BS degree from a Chinese university and then left to study or work abroad." American-born Chinese, for example, would not fit into the definition that is used by the Center for finding, placement, or reference purposes.

In recent years the Center has been particularly successful in its number of returning scholars. This can be explained by the cutbacks in employment at American universities and high-technology industries. Consequently, the return rate of Chinese scholars has increased proportionately to the constraints in the American employment market.

Dr. Cheng's job is to work closely with Chinese overseas scholars, Taiwan universities, government agencies, and government-related businesses to try to place those scholars who wish to return.

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The Overseas Chinese Scholars Center has developed a formal procedure whereby a person may seek funds and placement. An overseas Chinese will first go to an official office that represents the government of Taiwan and request the necessary (rather complex) forms. These will then be completed and forwarded to Dr. Cheng's Taipei office, which attempts to match the scholar's skills with the employment needs in the society. In most cases an overseas scholar can have his travel to Taiwan subsidized (at about $500). If the placement is successful, the scholar (most of whom take jobs with universities or the government) attends occasional meetings and workshops to share experiences on the "return cultural shock" with other Chinese. Short "return-home" visits are also coordinated through Dr. Cheng's office.

The Center has developed an "Overseas Specialist Data Bank." This service, which is located in Taipei, does the following: (1) Collects addresses of overseas Chinese scholars and specialists; (2) prepares index cards on these men and women; (3) designs questionnaires that help define a person's employment skills and interest; (4) corresponds with overseas Chinese about their wishes to return to Taiwan; and (5) collects, collates, and files relevant information for placement of those who wish to return. All aspects of this system are voluntary. Prior to leaving Taiwan, scholars are told of the opportunities available to them should they desire to return. Only those who have government-subsidized overseas fellowships and who have agreed to sign a contract to return and work for 3, 5, or 7 years as repayment for their overseas graduate education (normally the master's in engineering or the Ph.D. in one of the sciences or engineering) are required to return to Taiwan. Other overseas Chinese scholars may, if they wish, seek out the services of the Scholars Center.

Besides speaking with Dr. Cheng, this writer also spoke with scholars who had returned to Taiwan to take positions in academic life. One might anticipate some degree of resentment at their not being able (for employment reasons) to remain in the U.S. as professors. The consensus was that they all hoped to return to America as visiting scholars but they felt an obligation to share their education and talents with their society. Only those who had married non-Chinese were eager to return to the U.S.; this can be explained, in part, by the cultural adjustment many non-Chinese wives had to make when living in Taiwan.

In terms of personnel, the men and women who work at the Center under Dr. Cheng are all educated in the areas of human resource development and educational services. The esprit de corps at the Center is very positive and the leadership, represented by Dr. Cheng, sees its job as important for their society and for the Chinese living overseas.

The main weakness of the Center, according to Director Cheng, is the fact that as yet legislative authorization as a separate entity has not been granted to the Center by the Yuan; due to this, many programs are duplicated by the Ministry of Education which, because of better funding and stronger political ties, overshadows the various departments of the Youth Guidance Service.

NOTES

This section on Overseas Chinese is based in large part on interviews held with Dr. I-Yang Cheng and his colleagues at the National Youth Commission headquarters in Taipei. Also of value were forms provided by the Executive Yuan of Taiwan: "Briefing of Youth Guidance Service" and "Overseas Scholars and Students," (Tsung-Tao East Road, Taipei, Taiwan, 1978). These materials were mailed to me upon my return to the States.

Chapter 13

NEW FRONTIERS IN NON-TRADITIONAL EDUCATION

The protection of the environment through education and the use of television and radio as vehicles for academic growth are discussed in this chapter. At the end of each part a bibliography has been included. Though these two topics are quite isolated in terms of their goals and administrative framework, the innovativeness and success in accomplishing their individual mission has been widely recognized through Taiwan's scholarly community.

A. EDUCATION-OF-THE-AIR

Educational television in Taiwan came into being at the same time as this new media form became popular. Currently there are some 26 program hours weekly directly related to educational needs and interests of the people of the island. Unlike educational programming in the U.S., which is directed to the sophisticated (already well educated) elite, Taiwan has attempted to use this communication form to upgrade basic job skills, improve literacy, language, and math abilities and bring about a vehicle which people can use to "catch up" with the events in the world and in their society. The education programs transmitted throughout Taiwan and to the offshore islands are informative and of high quality. They use the best professors to write the lectures and prepare the videos and attempt to make the shows appealing. The type of class offered is not based on its popularity but on the basis of meeting the social and intellectual needs and conveying informative content..

Educational TV in Taiwan began in 1963 with the establishment of nationwide broadcasting. The first attempt to bring about a formal, systematized organization came into being in 1966 when the School-of-the-Air was set up at the Provincial Taipei Commercial College. In these early years radio broadcasts were used for the bulk of the instruction while TV was used as a supplemental device for further enrichment. So successful were these first years that the Ministry of Education, which has ultimate charge of all education in Formosa, decided to launch full-scale educational TV. In 1971 the Chinese Television Service (CTS) began broadcasting educational programs as well as its regular commercial shows. CTS is one of the three networks in Taiwan; it is the only one charged with the responsibility to work directly in the field of pedagogics. The Education Department of CTS (the other department is for commercial programming) has line responsibility to the CTS executive education staff, which in turn is directly under the Ministry of Education. CTS's Education Department,in coordination with radio stations and other types of communication systems, forms a complete organization of supplementary schools and basic education.

"School-of-the-Air" is the name given to precollege educational programming; directing this unit is a committee of educators, media specialists, and government officials. The Ministry of Education supervises all activities of educational television. Its influence is, however, as an overseeing-sponsoring agency and it has little active participation in the day-to-day efforts of delivery. Educational television is a self-supporting public enterprise. Selected vocational high schools have been appointed by the government to cooperate with CTS to work as administrative and classroom centers where students in the commercial arts courses can meet to register for the TV courses, take examinations, attend supplemental lecture and social

events, deliver their completed homework assignments, and pick up the textbooks that have been developed by CTS to parallel the TV class. Universities and teachers' colleges also participate, in a consultative way, with the development and implementation of the courses.

The uniqueness of the educational television model as it has evolved in Taiwan is represented by the multifaceted delivery systems. The essential method of instruction is television. Junior commercial and technical college-level lessons are 30 minutes, while high school level supplemental language and math courses are each 20 minutes. CTS weekly has 54 programs that total over 26 hours of broadcast time.

A corollary to the television programming is the "correspondence" component. The basic materials used by students to complete the assignments given to them at the end of the TV lecture or demonstration are especially designed textbooks. These have been written in such a way as to allow the student to progress at his or her own pace. A programmed learning technique has been incorporated into the newer books. Texts are prepared by the Education Department of CTS and over 300 different works have so far been written. The total number of copies printed by mid-1978 was more than two million. Also, a biweekly newsletter is sent to all students; this helps to bring together the three elements in the successful learning experience -- the student, the teacher, and the educational facilitator. The newsletter contains information about new classes, who the instructors are, and reports of educational affairs, as well as questions and answers between students and teachers. Homework assignments are included in the textbook packet and these are sent in to the school facility that the student has been assigned as his administrative center. Incidentally, a good deal of spirit develops within the administrative school that is responsible for

registration and supplemental class work. Sporting and cultural events are a part of the student's education. Schools-of-the-Air through these administrative centers also sponsor classroom lecture meetings which are an important adjunct to the TV learning experience. On alternate Sundays the students who have been formally admitted to the School-of-the-Air go to their administrative center school and there have review sessions of the media presentations. Teachers and other experts answer the students' questions and assist them with their homework and handbook assignments. Attending these sessions is a necessary and required part of the learning configuration for School-of-the-Air; unit credit in a given field is not awarded unless the student takes part in these Sunday sessions.

Radio broadcasts are also available for the School-of-the-Air student, particularly for those who missed the TV lesson. Nineteen stations throughout the island are responsible for rebroadcasting the TV shows which are taped at the time of their original broadcast.

In summary, four types of delivery systems exist: Educational TV, textbook lessons and homework correspondence, radio, and in-class lessons.

There are no entrance requirements for students who wish to earn "units of completion" in the precollege School-of-the-Air program or for the thousands who watch these shows for cultural enrichment. At the completion of a given program students are awarded certificates that indicate they have developed an expertise in a given area. This is then used for promotion. Each program of study differs in duration. The philosophy behind School-of-the-Air is, according to Mr. F. H. Chou, Director of the CTS Education Department, to allow younger and older adults the opportunity to gain a commercial junior college education and remedial public school education

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through a highly controlled, good quality educational television series. Incidentally, the most popular areas of nonformal TV study are in languages, particularly English, Japanese, and Arabic; the fields least participated in are the mathematical sciences.

Educational television has evolved significantly over the past 10 years. One of the earliest goals for this service was to upgrade certified school teachers. As has been mentioned previously, education in Taiwan changed radically in the late 1960's. Grades 7-9 were made available to all students and the high schools, though open to only those pupils who do well on the national entrance examination, have also enlarged because of the expansion at the junior high level. To cope with this expansion and also to assist teachers in learning about special education programs, the Ministry of Education commissioned CTS, in conjunction with numerous teachers' colleges, to broadcast courses directly related to pedagogy. Teachers who were in need of refresher classes to allow them to move into the new junior high area could earn necessary credits via TV. A total of 68 units was deemed necessary by the Ministry of Education to enable a pedagogue to retain his or her certificate; 42 of these were made available through the educational television service of CTS. These TV renewal classes were completed in 1977 and now teachers must periodically attend summer seminars to retain their licenses. Over 23,000 teachers took part in this program which helped modernize Taiwan education and assisted school personnel to improve their skills, upgrade their certifications, and retain their jobs.

The two programs that are currently most successful are Commercial Colleges of the Air (what we would call junior colleges) and the College of Administration of the Air.

Participating in the Commercial College of the Air program are National Ching Kung University, Provincial Taichung Commercial College, and Taipei City College of Commerce. Admission to these programs requires passing a competitive examination sponsored by the Ministry of Education. Students can major in the following fields: International trade, accounting and data processing, banking and insurance, and business administration. The system of TV-radio textbooks and classroom visitations described earlier in this section is the learning model for these students, who receive the equivalent of an associate of science degree upon successful completion of the program. Over 12,000 students are currently pursuing degrees or certificates in these fields. (A certificate is awarded to the student who cannot pass the entrance examination but does successfully complete the program of study.)

In June of 1977, College of Administration of the Air was founded by CTS in conjunction with National Chengchi University. The purpose of this innovative program is to give on-the-job training to civil service personnel. Enrollment currently totals nearly 9,000 students. Other educational television experiences that have developed in the last ten years are these: Programs for the military geared specifically to their needs in the area of upgrading technical skills; supplementary courses for junior high schools which are played on a television or radio in the classroom; courses on traffic safety and health education; "Production Line," which is a specialized series for men and women in the labor force; and intensive short classes in foreign languages.

If one future goal stands out most, it is to develop a University-of-the-Air which,in conjunction with the existing institutions of higher learning, could help students review the materials that they are exposed to on

campus and also give them the opportunity to take elective courses towards their BA/BS degrees while at home or in the summer (no summer school credit courses towards degrees are now available in Taiwan). The leadership of the Education Department of Chinese Television Service, according to Mr. Kuo-shen Chu, Chief, Public Relations, CTS, believes that the integration of university-level TV courses into certain curricula for undergraduate credit would enhance the educational opportunities and intellectual experiences of the young people in Taiwan.

In conclusion, the educational television movement in Taiwan has been successful. Top-grade teachers are hired (and paid well) to write lectures and prepare demonstrations; good speakers then give the lectures to maximize the impact for the student (who is older than his traditional in-school counterpart). People who for financial or personal reasons could not have continued their educations may do so through the formal process offered them by the Ministry of Education and Education Department of the Chinese Television Service.

The following is the organizational chart for Education-on-the-Air and also the model that represents the teaching/learning process for this unique and successful innovation:

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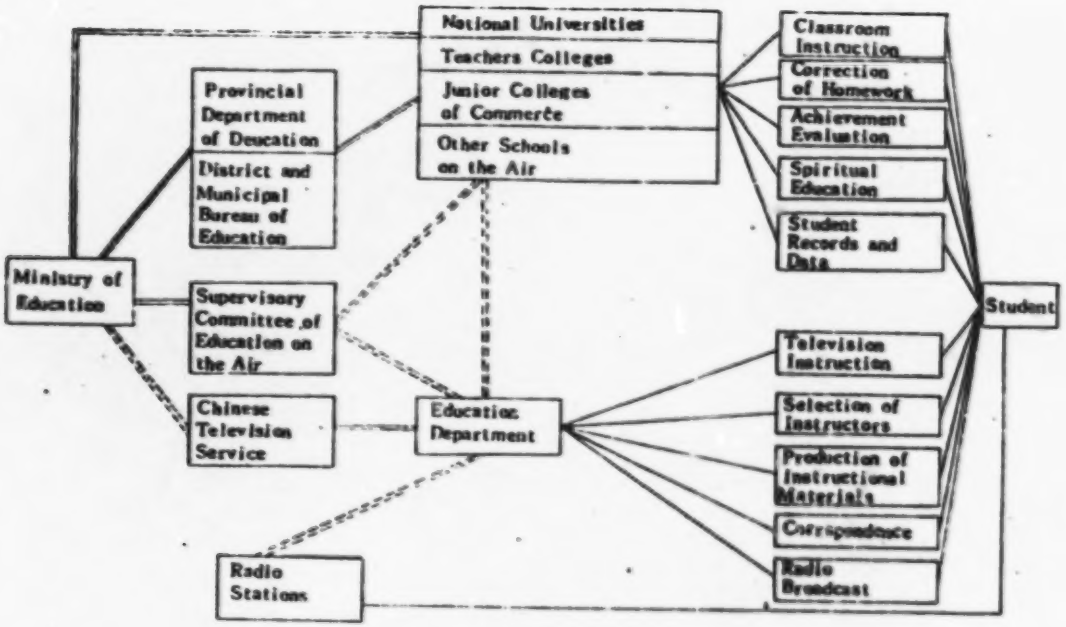
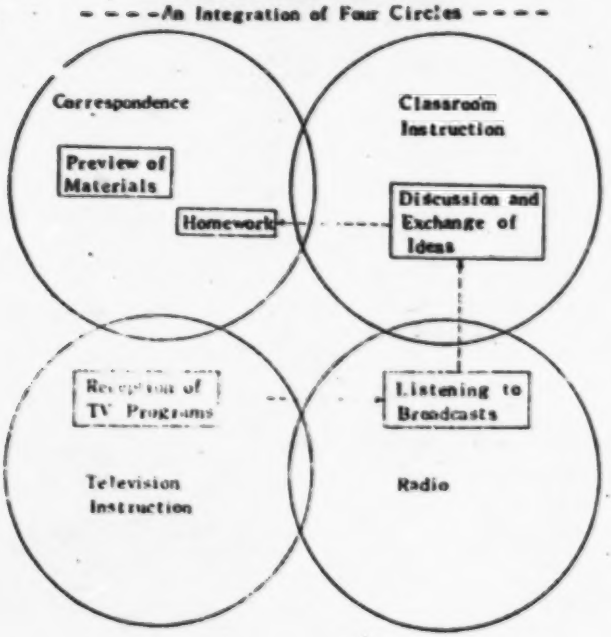
System of Operation for Education on the Air



Methods of Instruction for Schools on the Air

---An Integration of Four Circles---



The result of the CTS effort is a high-grade national educational television service which is self-supporting, well organized, and sophisticated. Programs use the best and brightest professors and specialists and present material in such a manner as to conform to the educational needs of a developing society. National planning and control, two dimensions that are not accepted in the sociopolitical framework of our society, have made possible quality programming and an excellent vehicle for human resource development.

NOTES

I had the opportunity to spend two days with members of the CTS education department. They answered questions, took me on tours of their facility (which is in the center of Taipei), and allowed me to watch a program being "shot." My interviews and discussion sessions were with Kuo-shen Chu, Chief, Public Relations Division, Chinese Television Service; F. H. Chou, Director, Education Department, Chinese Television Services (chief executive of this branch of CTS); Yeu-Yu Bao, Director, Bureau of International Cultural and Educational Relations of the Ministry of Education; Kuo-cheng Tseng, Secretary of Taiwan Provincial Government, Department of Social Affairs; Joe Yang Hui, former head of CTS; and K. S. Fang, Programming Director, CTS. The only written source material on this subject (in English) is Introduction to Education on Air: Chinese Television Service (pamphlet), Dec. 1979, Taipei.

B. ENVIRONMENTAL EDUCATION: TUNGHAI UNIVERSITY CENTER FOR ENVIRONMENTAL EDUCATION, A NON-TRADITIONAL APPROACH

In recent years Tunghai University located in Taichung, a rapidly developing city on the west coast of Taiwan in the center of the island, has established a major Environmental Research Center. Combining the talents of professors from all disciplines, the academic center, the first of its type in Taiwan, has four major missions: (1) Teaching courses in environmental studies to the traditional degree-seeking undergraduate student; (2) preparing scholarly papers and informative brochures for government agencies and the public; (3) holding workshops for the public and for governmental officials on the concept of environmental protection; and (4) bringing teachers from schools throughout Taiwan to the center to teach them how to introduce to their students the ideas of ecological balance and environmental protection.

The Center for Environmental Research was started in 1972 "in response to the challenge of increasing environmental problems in Taiwan." The two most innovative aspects of the center's work are in the areas of raising public awareness and the summer program for teachers.

Because of the transinstitutional nature of the work done, the administrative structure differs from what is found in the traditional department or college. The director of the center, Dr. Yu-Lung Kiang, who is also a professor of sociology at Tunghai, reports directly to the university president. This enables the center to function freely across traditional university lines and boundaries of authority. Working in staff positions are three deputy directors of the center. They are responsible for supervision of the areas of research, recurrent education, and internal and external communication. An advisory board made up of the deans of arts, sciences,

and engineering work with the center director and other factions of the university to assure the vividity of the effort. Also included in the Advisory Board are scholars from other institutions, governmental officials, and others whom the president may choose to appoint. Each project, be it an environmental impact study of the effect of a dam or factory or a panel session to discuss the relationship of urbanization and religion, is administered by a project moderator who receives his/her appointment from the university president. One of the more recent and important projects undertaken dealt with various environmental aspects of the new international airport in Taoycian, a town some 20 miles from Taipei which had been a traditional rural community. The other major research project--and this one is an ongoing effort--deals with the environmental changes, both human and ecological, of the Taichung region. Over the last 10 years that area has grown greatly due largely to the international harbor development project. Emphasis has been on (1) the effect of urbanization, (2) pollution (water, noise, and waste), and (3) resource conservation. An attempt has been made to include members of the community and also to inform the people of the region on how their lives will be changed and how they, as individuals and families, can help improve their environment.

A most exciting part of the work of the Environmental Research Center occurs in the summer months when public school teachers are invited to attend workshops on ecology. The Taiwan Provincial Department of Education has given financial support to these summer programs. Lectures by experts, films, guest speakers from abroad, and handout materials all come together to acquaint the pedagogue with the latest concepts and teaching methods in the area of environmental studies. Other types of research and workshops deal with tribal life of the mountain peoples, river/fish ecology, low-income peoples in Taichung City, and forest preservation.

Because Tunghai University is the pioneer institution in the field of environmental and ecological research and teaching, its summer and workshop programs are well attended and popular. The long-range effect of this sort of nontraditional educational experience is difficult to judge. Its impact on the average family person is perhaps greater than on the industrial and governmental leadership. According to members of the faculty at Tunghai, environmental concerns in a developing industrial society like Taiwan's must give way to the needs for expansion, resource utilization, and consequently ecological dislocation. Taiwan's economy depends in large part on its ability to produce quality products at the lowest competitive cost. This is obviously antithetical to the wishes of many scholars who desire a pollution-free environment. Tunghai's Environmental Research Center is attempting to establish a balance that encourages a raised consciousness about ecological concerns and yet does not confront the industrial and governmental establishment which sees industrial growth directly related to the society's security.

NOTES

A total of seven days were spent at Tunghai University to study the evening college, continuing education program, and the Environmental Research Center. My main source of information about the center came from discussions with Dr. Yu-Lung Kiang, Center Director and Professor of Sociology; his assistant, Paul C. Lin; and Ms. Li-Li Mo, Instructor in Social Work. Also, discussions with Dr. Tseng-Lu Li, Chairman, Department of Social Work at Tunghai, and Dr. Paul S. Alexander, Dean, College of Science, were of value in understanding the nature of the Environmental Research Center. I had the honor to speak with Dr. Ko-wang Mei, President

of the university and a strong supporter of the center and other innovative programs at Tunghai. These interviews, plus the "Annual Report, Environmental Research Center, 1974-75" (Taichung, Taiwan, 1975) and the Tunghai University Catalog, 1980, are the resources used for this research inquiry.

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Chapter 14

ACADEMIA SINICA: AT THE CUTTING EDGE OF KNOWLEDGE

Located in the suburban outskirts of Taipei is one of the outstanding nontraditional educational centers in all of Taiwan -- Academia Sinica. This institution is devoted totally to highly advanced research, writing, post-doctoral studies, and seminar meetings in the sciences, social sciences, and humanities. Approximately 400 Academicians, Fellows, Associate Fellows, Research Assistants, and other line personnel and support staff are cloistered at Academia Sinica. They are charged with being at the cutting edge of research and scholarship in Taiwan.

The roots of the Center are found in the dynastic period of China when the emperor would select from the leading intellectuals of the country a small group of scholars who would report their research findings directly to him. This group would become something of a private "think-tank." Not subject to the traditional checks of governmental ministers or of protocol, these men were virtually autonomous in their efforts. Academia Sinica today functions in much the same manner vis-a-vis the Executive Yuan; it is the only major government-funded educational center that is not under the Ministry of Education. Rather its support comes directly from the executive branch of government, hence bypassing the more conservative bureaucracy of the Ministry of Education. It was suggested to this writer that of all the places where scholars are formally gathered this Center formulates the most liberal and often iconoclastic views on foreign and domestic policy, ecology and economics, and social issues. Academia Sinica is located next to the Hu Shih Park and is a tranquil, idyllic location for research, contemplation, and the holding of national and international seminars. Surrounded by

mountains, large green lawns, and made up of beautifully designed Chinese and Western style buildings, Academia Sinica has today become an internationally recognized center for research and the formulation and exchange of ideas.

In 1928 Academia Sinica was created by the National Government in Nanking. At that time it was placed under the Executive Yuan and had as its director Tsan, Yuan-pei, who was responsible for establishing the first two institutes (departments) in the Center -- chemistry and physics. Dr. Hu Shih and others were given the responsibility for developing institutes for studies in the social sciences. Before 1930 institutes in meteorology, astronomy, geology, and natural history research were created. Nanking in these days was the main center of learning and culture in China and to Academia Sinica came scholars from throughout China to share their thoughts and research.

Until the end of the second World War many of the various institutes of Academia Sinica were located in different parts of China though the administrative center was Nanking. The war against Japan was disruptive to the operation of the various institutes which from 1937 until 1945 accomplished little in the way of innovative research but did contribute to the war effort. The department that advanced most during the war years was meteorology, which was of significant value to aiding farmers as well as the military. In 1941 the Institute of Mathematics was established and in 1944 the Institute for Medical Research and Health Care was created. Ethnology was also separated from the Institute of History in 1944. During the 1940's a sub-institute for pharmacology was placed under the Institute for Chemistry.

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It was in that brief period after the defeat of Japan and before the removal of the National Government to Taiwan that Academia Sinica took charge of the large supplies of academic technology and research materials left in China by the Japanese occupation forces. One of the major projects in this period was the establishment of an effective and new catalogue system in the public library of Peking which included the materials left by the Japanese. Hope ran high that the new China would rely heavily on Academia Sinica and other collections of intellectuals to bring the nation up to the standards of the democratic world.

The year 1949 was to bring a major dislocation to Academia Sinica. In that year the organization moved to Taiwan. Its new director was Chu, Chia-huo. The only institutes that had all of their belongings transported from the Mainland were history and language. These resources consisted mainly of books and other valuable documents that contained the human and linguistic history of some 3,000 years of China; the works were virtually irreplaceable.

Academia Sinica was plagued with difficulties during its first decade in Taiwan. A lack of suitable housing, research materials, and personnel with the necessary advanced training needed to carry on the type of advisory research required of this type of sophisticated center all hampered Academia Sinica and its task of avant-garde scholarly pursuits.

Under the direction of the Executive Yuan and with financial assistance from the Chinese Education and Cultural Foundation and also with financial grants from the Rockefeller Foundation of the United States, property was bought at the current site of Academia Sinica (about 10 miles from downtown Taipei). Slowly many of the institutes that were in existence when the Center was on the Mainland were reestablished. In 1958 one of China's leading

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scholars, Dr. Hu Shih, was appointed Center Director. Under his leadership and because of his close ties with the academic community of the West, the center began to regain the prestige it had once had. Scholars from the various universities in Taiwan, government leaders, and members of Academia Sinica established long-range plans for the development and national funding of the center.

A fundamental goal of the center under Hu Shih was to enhance Taiwan-American exchanges, particularly in the sciences. The U.S. National Science Institute and Academia Sinica held a series of joint meetings in the late 1950's and early 1960's to define how they would cooperate in the exchange of mutually beneficial scientific information and scholarly personnel.

In 1962, at the death of Dr. Hu Shih, a new and aggressive director, Dr. Wang, Shih-chieh, was appointed. His tenure was to last until 1970 and under him numerous building projects at the center and new institutes were added. A total of 14 institutes are currently operational today. They are mathematics, physics, chemistry, botany, zoology, biological chemistry, history and philology, ethnology (a branch of anthropology), modern history, economics, American culture and studies, Three Principles of the People (an institute to study modern Chinese life), earth sciences (earthquake studies), and information sciences (computer science). American scholars were invited to Taipei to be visiting fellows at Academic Sinica. One of the most respected of these was the Harvard economist, Prof. Kuznets, who led a distinguished delegation of Chinese and Americans to the Sino-American conference on economics held in Taipei in 1967.

Improving the quality of scholarship at the high school and college level is a major area of concern for the center. Taiwan, like America, has a

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recognized ranking of universities. Consequently, if one school plans to hold a conference, other schools may choose not to attend. This snobbishness is characteristic of most academicians but,because Academia Sinica is not a competitive part of the academic system and also not under the Ministry of Education, its meetings are generally well attended. The center is viewed as neutral ground by teachers and the various scholarly interest groups in Taiwan.

Another recent development is the cooperative Ph.D. program in economics coordinated by National Taiwan University and Academia Sinica. Though course work and requirements for the degree are determined by the university, research opportunities and financial support are made available through Academia Sinica which melds its efforts with the department of economics.

Membership in the ranks of an Academician as well as Fellow or Associate Fellow is among the highest academic achievements one can receive. The process for becoming a member Fellow is as follows: A representative committee from the various universities throughout Taiwan selects a list of candidates whose names are subsequently forwarded to the Executive Yuan. From this group new appointments are made. To qualify one must fall under at least one of the following categories: (1) The person should be a recognized author, inventor, researcher, or have made a major academic contribution; (2) persons who have been leaders in specific fields of knowledge and/or research are eligible; and (3) an individual with a unique academic background that will help with the development of new knowledge and inspire new research ideas may be considered.

The overwhelming number of Fellows hold a foreign earned doctorate degree in their research field. After a candidate has been selected and after a

probationary period he receives de facto tenure which assures him his position for life. (Regular tenure as we in America know it does not exist in Taiwan. It is simply not part of the educational history of China and its absence creates no rancor.)

These scholars have the responsibility of publishing their research findings, speaking at public forums, writing articles for the nation's newspapers on public interest topics, and setting up demonstrations, e.g., teaching methodology. They are viewed by the public, the government, and their colleagues in professional positions as leaders in their areas of academic research; they have no teaching responsibilities (though most do "moonlight" at one of Taipei's many universities) and they report to the institute chairman and the center director. The Ministry of Education does not become involved with policy or planning at the center.

The advisory committee for Academia Sinica consists of 36 highly respected scholars from Taiwan. They give advice to the center's director and also are charged with selecting a new director when the position is vacant. Representing the academic leadership of the society, these men and women assure that the research done is relevant to the nation's economic and societal needs and betterment. The center has as its fundamental purpose preparing research reports for government leaders that will allow them to make the best decision possible on the direction of the society. "National research" is the term most commonly used to define the efforts of Academia Sinica.

Currently there are some 90 Academicians, elected for life, and 350 Fellows and Associate Fellows (their salaries are parallel to full professors and associate professors) and 14 institutes. Each institute has a head who

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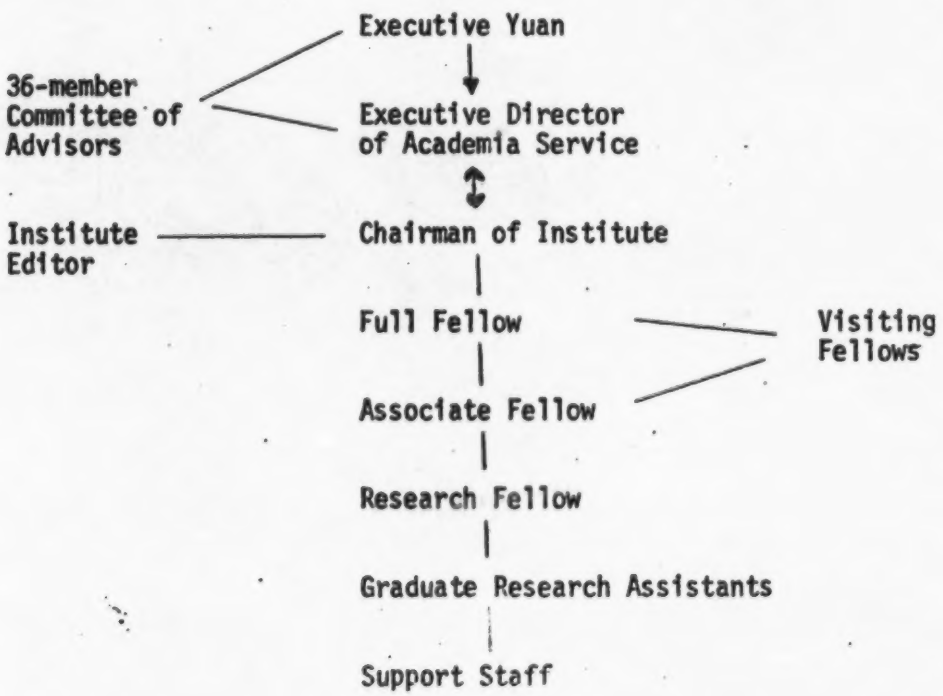
is selected by the executive director of the center. To qualify for the title of institute head or chairman, a person must have accomplished at least one of the following: (1) Worked three years at the institute; (2) been a professor at the university for at least three years (in the field of the institute's specialty); or (3) held the rank of department chairman at a university.

The structural/personnel chart of the center is as follows:



Academia Sinica is helping to move Taiwan forward with its ability to do unrestricted scientific research and to coordinate the quest for scholarship in the humanities and social sciences. Working as an intellectual think-tank for the executive branch of government, it can avoid becoming embroiled in the pedantic issues that delay university research. It also has the prestige of a long and continuous history as a place where ideas for change can be openly discussed.

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NOTES

Preparing this section on Academia Sinica was aided by a number of sources. I had the opportunity to spend two days at the Center and there to meet with numerous members of its research staff. Among the persons who were interviewed for preparation of the chapter were Dr. Hsin-Huang Michael Hsiao, Associate Fellow, Institute of Ethnology, with whom I spent many hours in conversation; Dr. Chen Yung Fan, Associate Fellow, Institute of American Culture; and Juin-Han Tsao, Associate Fellow at the Institute of American Culture.

The only written material on Academia Sinica is in Chinese and is a chronicle of the work the Center has done (bibliography) as well as a brief history and review. The booklet, General Arrangement and Chronology of Academia Sinica (1979) was published by the Center as a guide to its members and also Chinese scholars and government leaders. The chapters that were of value to me, (1) "General Information," (2) "The Center's History and Arrangement," and (3) "The Institutes," were translated from Chinese to English by Yen, Wan-ku Chang, to whom I express my gratitude. Of assistance in understanding the multidimensional nature of the research done at the Center was List of Publications - Academia Sinica, 1979, (Academia Sinica, Taipei, Taiwan, 1979).

Chapter 15

SPECIAL EDUCATION: A CHALLENGE FOR TAIWAN

> There is no person in the world who is unfit to be taught; there is also no person in the world who should be neglected to be taught.
>
> --Chen Hun-mao

One can tell a good deal about a nation's level of moral and social development as well as its economic vividity by the way it deals with children who have special education needs.

Taiwan, a nation that has its educational roots in Chinese civilization and heritage, has attempted in recent years to confront the problem of the special child and young adult. This brief chapter will be devoted to exploring the ongoing programs of nontraditional special education; emphasis will be placed on programs devoted to youngsters with physical, mental, and emotional difficulties. Also presented will be a brief discussion of behavior and reading problems as well as difficulties experienced by young adults and how these are dealt with in Taiwan.

When one thinks of education in Taiwan one immediately recalls the teaching of Confucius, Lao-tse, Mencius, Dr. Sun Yat-sen and other intellectuals who in their wisdom helped to create one of the most splendid systems of educational democracy the history of humankind has ever known. Competition has been the forte of this system. A young person from any economic background or class who is willing to compete and possesses the intellectual makeup to pass the necessary exams may become a successful scholar, physician, teacher, business entrepreneur, or craftsperson. Yet in Taiwan, as in all nations, a small minority of boys and girls are not given an equal

opportunity to succeed in the traditional educational and social system. These are normally referred to as "special students" (a euphemism for "handicapped students").

The various categories for special students that will be addressed in this paper are: Mentally retarded, orthopedically handicapped, multiple handicapped, hearing and speech impaired, emotionally disturbed, and visually impaired.

In 1880 an English Presbyterian missionary, the Reverend William Gambel, set into motion the concept of special education in the Chinese province of Taiwan. In that year Reverend Gambel established in Tainan, a southern city on the island of Taiwan, a missionary school for the training of the blind. Chinese and Taiwan history from the early 1900's until the conclusion of World War II was filled with revolution, invasion, occupation, economic disruption, and human dislocation and uprootedness. It was not until the mid-1960's that a major and successful effort was put forth by the National Government of Taiwan to establish top quality educational facilities and highly trained professional human resource developers to work closely with the youngster with special problems. Once the movement had begun and the government in its 1968 Fundamental Education Act had committed itself formally to the betterment of educational opportunity for disadvantaged, great progress was made toward redress of these age-old societal problems. The 1968 Act stated that handicapped children were entitled to an opportunity to reach their fullest potential as human beings. Proper training was to be started and appropriate college curricula created to help educationalists learn the methods of dealing with "special education" children.

In the mid-1970's two other acts were passed. One was to set up a system of identification for problem children. The Chinese, like most oriental peoples, prize intelligence and the competitive spirit. Parents were often hesitant to admit that their homebound child was handicapped. The government has attempted to identify the children in need of special services and to educate the parents

as to the humanistic values behind the process.

The other major piece of legislation was passed in 1975. This set up rigorous teacher certification requirements for those working with the special child. To be certified as a special education teacher (which today carries with it both salary increments and prestige), one had to complete an approved program of graduate study of at least 16 hours in the field of special education. Psychological training, evaluation techniques, health education, and teaching methods made up the core of this postgraduate program.

According to educators this investigator met in Taipei, the major city and capital of Taiwan, the methodological developments for the teaching of special education children are based on the concepts and theories developed in the U.S. in the 1950's and 1960's. The main differences, at least from this investigator's vantage point, are these: Chinese education has always emphasized academic excellence and the spirit of competition. Special education programs, for the most obvious reason, are antithetical to this concept. Consequently a new framework of thought -- a more humanistic, child-centered (rather than knowledge-centered) approach had to be inculcated into the intellectual makeup of the neophyte teachers in this new program. Many were educated at American schools or by professors who were themselves trained in the U.S. The change in orientation has been difficult for the teachers just as it has been difficult for parents who have special children.

The second major factor that is quite obvious when one visits the special education centers is the fact that they are usually segregated from the regular school facility. Though more intense training can be accomplished by this separate status, less interaction with normal youngsters is the result. This creates a feeling of separation and also precludes allowing the students in

regular classes the opportunity to better understand special youngsters. This, though changing, is one of the weaknesses of Taiwan's special education program (and is the basis of one of the major debates in Taiwan education today).

All education in Taiwan is under the auspices of the Ministry of Education. Public school educators, grades 1-9, have direct administrative responsibility to the province or municipality in which they are located. Total education policy making is the responsibility of the Ministry of Education (the system is quite similar to that of the French and Japanese). At the college and university levels this centralization is most evident. The Ministry of Education has recently taken a positive interest in special education. There are three basic reasons for this: (1) The newness of the programs, (2) the financial demands that have emerged, and (3) the philosophy that special education should have national rather than local goals. One finds this syndrome also in the West. In many states in the U.S. public education is quite localized; special education programs (because of the significant economic cost and quality control of faculty persons) is a more centralized (state or regionally controlled) part of the total educational system. West Virginia, New York City, California, and other states have moved in this direction. Also, most European nations have a special education governmental bureau, usually in a line relationship to the Ministry of Education.

The Ministry of Education in Taiwan, which is one of the departments in the executive branch of government (the Yuan), recently attempted to discern the prevalence of "exceptional children". The ministry surveyed about 2,350,000 children (mostly urban) between the ages of six and twelve. The surveyors concluded that approximately 34,564 children fell into the category of handicapped. Mental retardation (caused by Downs syndrome, genetic dysfunction, or prenatal

problems) accounted for a majority of these problems. The second highest group included those children handicapped by orthopedic problems. Since polio has been virtually eradicated in Taiwan this number has dropped; most of the orthopedically handicapped were polio victims and were in the age group 9 to 12. This reflects the success of the vaccine programs of recent years. Below is a chart based on the Ministry of Education 1974-75 survey of 2,350,000 youngsters in Taiwan.

Number of Exceptional Children Discovered through the Prevalence Study*

Types of Exceptionality	Number of Children
Visual Handicap	989
Auditory Handicap	2,154
Orthopedic Handicap	9,317
Chronic Diseases and Delicacy	1,185
Mental Retardation	12,034
Multiple Handicaps	5,374
Unknown	3,511
Total	34,564

The remainder of this paper will be devoted to the various special education programs in Taiwan. Several centers were visited by this researcher last summer. The following discussion will deal with the philosophy, implementation, and vividity of these programs for exceptional children.

One of the most uplifting experiences this writer had in Taiwan was the opportunity to visit a school for the visually impaired. The facility, located in Taipei, was spotlessly clean (as are all schools in Taiwan), physically open, filled with material and equipment for the visually impaired, and suitable for residential students from parts of Taiwan that had not yet developed their own centers.

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*Source: Special Education in the Republic of China (Taipei: Ministry of Education, 1976, p. 3)

The main goals of these schools for the visually impaired are to enhance the self confidence of the student, introduce techniques for survival in the world of the sighted (particularly traffic and other hazards), and provide training in a meaningful and realistic vocation. Some few youngsters upon graduation are able to matriculate to junior colleges, and a very few enter universities.

An attempt has been made to make the school day, curriculum, and social milieu as near to the regular school setting as possible. Written instruction, lessons, and assignments are done in Chinese braille which is in accordance with Chinese phonetic symbols.

The written Chinese language is not made up of an alphabet; rather it is ideographic in nature. This means that a symbol (or picture) and not an accumulation of vowels and syllables (letters) represents the word. Hence an ideographic symbol represents each word. One may speculate that the schism between the written language of the sighted and the braille of the visually impaired is much less in China than in the West. In fact one can often touch a Chinese ideograph and quickly discern what it represents; this is virtually impossible with the language of the West with its dependence on the alphabet.

Those children who excel and do go to college normally major in music, literature, or some area of social science (e.g., history). The Ministry of Education, which has control of admission to all institutions of higher learning (based on the annual National Examination), has a special screening committee to evaluate the visually impaired. In years to come it is hoped that a larger percentage of these pupils can matriculate to colleges.

Those who do not go to college (and the overwhelming majority do not) take training in a vocation which will help secure them a place in the economic structure of the nation. Some of the occupational fields most popular for the

visually impaired are in telephone operating, piano tuning, assembly work, wood-working, pottery, and massage and health care (a respected and honorable profession in Taiwan).

In 1965, with assistance from the American Foundation for Overseas Blind, the Department of Education of the Provincial Government of Taiwan began a program of integrating blind students into the regular classroom setting. The program has proven to be so successful that virtually all areas of Taiwan are experimenting with the program. To further assist the students, their classroom work is in braille and braille typewriters are available for assignment preparation. The only major modification necessary was the inclusion at the school of a visiting teacher specially trained in working with the visually impaired. The group dynamics have been most helpful to the blind students. It must be assumed that the sighted also have benefited from this experience.

A second major category of special student is the audiological dysfunctional. Hearing impairment may be caused by a number of factors including birth defects, disease, injury, or degenerative problems that go undetected. The attitude in Taiwan until recent years (and a view that dominated the U.S.) was that children who had hearing dysfunction (like the elderly who often also have this handicap) were mentally retarded or intellectually lethargic. With the introduction of Western medical and diagnostic techniques and the support of the Department of Social Education in the Ministry of Education, a new attitude began to prevail. In the last decade advances have been made in working with the hearing impaired. In Taiwan there are three major centers for helping the deaf; one is for children ages 6 to 15, the other two are for preschoolers over age three. Emphasis has also been placed on integrating deaf students into the mainstream of education. Schools at all levels attempt to have special classes within the

facility for the hearing impaired. The practice has been instituted for two reasons--economic and psychological. For financial reasons it is more practical to have one facility integrated with hearing and visually impaired children than to have parallel facilities for youngsters of the same age. The psychological factors are of more importance. Children who are segregated, be it for handicaps or other reasons, carry with them a badge of distinction. This is usually equated to inferiority. Modern psychologists, especially those in the Carl Rogers tradition, see self-perception as critical to one's personal development. The integration of these programs in Taiwan has had a healthy and strong impact on the handicapped.

Many teachers of hearing impaired youngsters have been influenced by Western ideas of special education and are now questioning the hand sign language system of communication. The move in Taiwan is toward the use of (1) sophisticated hearing aids, (2) lip reading, (3) oral language instruction, (4) improved hand language, and (5) combinations of the above devices. One of the major problems facing the Chinese in this regard is their language. Subtle inflections in speech change completely the meaning of an uttered word. Hence the word Ching could mean four different things --its meaning would depend on the inflections used. The difficulty for the hearing impaired is quite evident. Yet an eagerness on the part of teachers, administrators, and young people exists, and as more national funding is directed into these programs greater success can be anticipated.

The hearing impaired in Taiwan find employment in numerous industries, restaurants, offices, and government positions. Technical training is an important component of their education (most complete their formal schooling after the ninth year; very few go on for higher degrees).

Three of the better known schools for the hearing impaired youngsters and

adolescents are (1) Taiwan School, (2) Taichung School for the Deaf, and (3) Taipei School for the Deaf.

The statistics profiles for the deaf and blind schools of Taiwan are quite revealing. They show a slow increase in the number of schools being built solely for hearing and vision impaired persons; they also show a large increase in the number of students attending regular classes and graduating. This indicates that the process of assimilating visually and audiologically handicapped students into the regular classroom/school facility environment is proceeding at a rapid pace.

Since the virtual elimination of polio, the number of youngsters who arrive at school age with physical handicaps of a debilitating nature has decreased significantly. The Department of Social Education of the Ministry of Education states, "According to our medical reports more than 90 percent of the physically handicapped children in Taiwan are post-polio cases. Since effective prevention [has been developed] polio has dropped dramatically."

Taiwan, like the U.S., has attempted to meet the needs of the orthopedically infirmed in a number of creative ways. The Ministry of Education, in conjunction with the Provincial Department of Education, has attempted to create an educational offensive to inform the public of the need for inoculation and has also been instrumental in incorporating into the curriculum of a number of universities, particularly National Taiwan Normal University*, courses and workshops for teacher training in the field of education for the handicapped.

The approach used by Taiwan to assure education of the physically handicapped is fourfold:

*National Taiwan Normal University, a teachers college, is considered to be one of the very best schools in Taiwan. One is reminded of Teachers College (Columbia University) when on its campus.

(1) Special classes that are integrated into the regular school buildings. These classes make up a part of the handicapped student's day; the rest is academic or vocational. These schools also have limited their physical barriers or made arrangements for suitable alternative space on the campus.

(2) Classes in community hospitals or medical centers for the young people with serious debilitating orthopedic disabilities. These are normally transitional settings; once the individual is able to function he or she is encouraged to return to a less clinical environment.

(3) Residential schools for students with orthopedic handicaps which need regular attention or for students who for one reason or another cannot function in the regular school environment. These are generally sponsored or subsidized by foreign religious or philanthropic organizations.

(4) Vocational training schools located in community rehabilitation centers. This is the type of school that seems to be making the greatest impact on the lives of handicapped youngsters.

Approximately 800 youngsters are currently receiving special education in one of the programs cited above. This is a small number in relation to the total number of handicapped children in Taiwan; it is a start, however. Students with minor physical handicaps are, of course, part of the regular studentry and are not included in the 800. That number represents only those young people with severe and crippling handicaps, e.g., total paralysis of the legs. An effort is also underway, in conjunction with the Education Act of 1968, to help physically handicapped persons receive post-junior high school vocational and technical training. The garment, electronic, and food processing businesses, as well as other light industries, have employed orthopedically handicapped young men and women.

Still in their earliest stages of development are the programs for the mentally retarded.

The first step in this process was to change, rather dramatically, the

attitude of both educators and the public toward mental retardation. China, with its long history of educational excellence and academic "survival of the fittest," was slow to reevaluate its basic view of the definition of education. Since 1962, however, basically because of the work of missionaries and foreign foundations (in Taipei and primarily religious), a new consciousness has come to education in Taiwan. The view that is now held is that each child, no matter what his or her level of intellectual potential, has the right to reach the highest possible degree of mental development.

The practice in Taiwan is still to segregate the mentally retarded into separate facilities. In some rare cases mentally retarded youngsters do have classrooms in regular school facilities. This is still the exception.

The main impetus for the movement toward education of the mentally retarded (normally defined as those with an I.Q. that does not allow them to function normally in the traditional school setting -- 80 or below) came in 1968 when the National Government expanded free public education from six to nine years. It was at this time that the realization come that retarded children were basically incapable of functioning in the very competitive environment of the regular junior high school. Teachers and administrators then helped the division of Social Education under the Ministry of Education to establish centers for the training and care of the severely retarded. Today in Taiwan there are some 135 special education classes offering help to more than 500 retarded children. Most of these are for youngsters in grades 1-6; only 42 classes (as of 1976) were at the junior high school level. Though this is an extremely small number compared to the total population in need of these services, it is a movement in the direction of helping all children reach their highest level of attainment.

A new trend is to establish residential schools for the moderately retarded.

Taiwan, like the West, sees this as an important step in the overall training of mentally retarded children in all facets of day-to-day living. The city of Tainar established the first such center.

One observation this writer made in Taiwan was that mental retardation is seen as an untouchable subject. People fear the retarded and are nervous while in their presence. Though this syndrome is present in most societies, in China it seemed more evident. The sociological reasons for this were not evident to this writer nor were they adequately explained when the subject was discussed with teachers and administrators.

Currently the majority of schools for the retarded are funded by private donations and private institutions; government expenditures are becoming a larger part of the total budget for these special education centers.

One unique feature of Chinese education is the lack of special education programs for children with behavior disorders or severe reading difficulties, two highly emphasized problem areas in American education.

Behavior disorders in public schools, according to the numerous scholars and educators interviewed in Taiwan, are unknown. There are a number of sociological reasons for this and a brief discussion of them here may help enlighten us as to the causative agents for the severe behavior problems faced in many American schools.

Among the main reasons for orderly and respectful (but by no means stagnant) behavior in the classroom is the historical emphasis placed on education and scholarship throughout Chinese history. It must be remembered that while we in the West have as our heroes military men and business entrepreneurs (Napoleon, George Washington, Bismarck, Henry Ford, John D. Rockefeller, et al), the

Chinese have as their personae magnus scholars and teachers. Confucius, that genius of geniuses, best exemplifies this quality. Historically, education has in Chinese society been the road to success. By succeeding in the education system, which has no class or economic prejudice, any man or woman, even from the poorest section of society, can become academically successful, economically independent, and upwardly mobile. The key to success in education is to prepare for -- and pass -- the various examinations. As was discussed earlier, these determine admission of students into the better high schools and colleges, graduate schools, and professional programs. They are objective in terms of administration and grading. Knowledge of this system is inculcated into the thinking of youngsters. They are eager to succeed and the school is the primary vehicle for their success.

A second factor is the family. Great emphasis is placed on family life in Taiwan. It remains the single most important expression of unity in the nation. Familial pressure on the child to succeed, to bring honor to the family, and to reach a high level of self-attainment and actualization is very strong. Only 30 percent of the students graduating from the academic high school are admitted to college; about 93 percent of those entering college graduate! Children wish to succeed to bring honor to their parents; parents pressure their youngsters to be successful because of their personal awareness of the vicissitudes of life and the social and economic security a quality education can bring.

The last major reason for the absence of behavioral disorders is that it is simply not tolerated. Youngsters who are disruptive to the system are reported to their parents. For the above reasons and because of the high level of ancestral honor in China, the disruptive child is quickly corrected and the process of orderly education continues.

Modern educational theorists may be tempted to interpret this as antithetical to the questioning and creative spirit that is so necessary for the development of the arts, music, and true intellectualism. This writer would suggest that a review

of Chinese art, music, theatre, architecture, medical advances, and philosophy be made. No indication of conformity, stagnation, or anti-intellectualism is evident. In many ways the creative spirit appears to be kindled by the orderly educational process that prevails in Taiwan. Great artists, scientists, educators, philosophers, and writers must first be knowledgeable about the multifaceted nature of society. The school lends itself to this. They must also be highly self-directed, self-disciplined, and motivated. The intellectualism found among Chinese scholars is in part due to educationally imposed and self-imposed discipline. (Self-discipline and forced conformity are quite different and should not be misinterpreted.)

Besides behavior problems, a major contemporary concern of teachers in America is the inability of children to read at the level expected. The "Why Johnny Can't Read" syndrome is unknown in Taiwan. All students read at roughly the level of expectation. The nonreader is an unknown species in Chinese education. There are probably many reasons for this phenomenon, most of which are cultural. Yet possibly the Chinese language, which uses ideographs instead of an alphabet, has worked as a preclusive agent in reading dysfunctionality. Dr. Kiyoshi Makito, a professor at Keio University Medical School (Japan), quoted in William H. Forbis Japan Today (p. 112-134), has suggested that reading dyslexia lies in the use of the alphabet in Western language. He believes that many of the letters (b and d, g and q) and numerous words (saw and was, weight and wait) create obstacles to the logical process of reading that is an extension of sight and remembrance. Further, English has numerous contradictions in language and confusing variants in spelling; these could all possibly lead to the great difficulties the American child has in learning basic language skills. It could possibly explain why Chinese children learn to read at such an early age and do not have the dyslexia that is so common in the U.S. Hence the ideograph, which we in the West see as such a barrier to learning Chinese, may at some future time be shown as the cause celebre in teaching youngsters in America to read and think more clearly.

Since the 1968 Educational Act a new emphasis has been placed on teacher education for special education teachers. Certification requirements are not dissimilar to those found in many states in the U.S. Two types of training programs are available for certification needs. The following outlines these programs.

PRE-SERVICE TRAINING:

1. Formal program at special education department for special education teachers at secondary level --

   The first special education department was established in 1975 at Provincial College of Education in Chang-hwa in order to prepare special education teachers in the area of mental retardation, deaf and hard of hearing, orthopedic handicaps, and blindness. A three year training program is offered to junior college graduates leading to a bachelor degree in education.

2. Training programs on Junior Normal Colleges for Teachers --

   The Division of Mental Retardation in Taipei Municipal Teachers' College for Women offers a program of totally 24 credit hours in the field of mental retardation. Other teachers' colleges also offer special education courses in various fields.

3. One-year full-time program for special education teachers at primary level --

   Taiwan Provincial Taipei Teachers' College is responsible for the training of teachers of the MR children. Taiwan Provincial Tainan Teachers' College is responsible for the training of itinerant teachers for the blind. Participants of this program, who generally have at least two years of teaching experience, are offered a study leave at regular pay, a waiver of all tuition fees, and free board and lodging in a student hostel. More than two hundred teachers have been trained under this type of program.

IN-SERVICE TRAINING:

1. At National Taiwan Normal University --

   The Special Education Center was established in 1974 in National Taiwan Normal University for research, experimentation, information gathering, and in-service training; also organizes training programs during the semester or during the summer for teachers teaching special schools or special classes, leading to 20 special education credit hours. The Center also gives short-term pre-service workshops for special education teachers when necessary.

2. At Provincial Changhwa College of Education --

   The Special Education Department there also offers in-service training programs in the winter or summer vacation for special education teachers.

In concluding this chapter on special education in Taiwan, it may be stated that Taiwan is reacting against its own educational history -- a history that has always emphasized excellence based on competition and academic attrition. It has moved toward a more humanistic educational system where each child, handicapped or normal, is encouraged to reach his or her highest level of self-actualization.

We often judge the vitality of a society by its superior intellectuals and leaders. Possibly, in addition to this traditional criteria, a society's level of moral development can be weighed by how it treats its handicapped young people. Only truly developed civilizations are capable of reaching a level of abstract ethical awareness that motivates them to expand their collective consciousness and resources to help the handicapped. Taiwan, as its economic development increases and as a greater emphasis is placed on the area of special education, will be better able to satisfy the needs of those young people with physical, mental, or emotional difficulties. Confucius stated "Education knows no class." Possibly a contemporary reinterpretation of that statement would add that education is not denied to physically, emotionally, or mentally disabled young people.

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NOTES

This chapter is a by-product of my 1977 and 1980 research sojourns in Taiwan. I became interested in the special education movement after I had the opportunity to visit two schools in Taipei, one for blind and the other for physically handicapped children. A definitive study on this topic has yet to be done in English. Hopefully scholars in the field of special education will at some future time investigate the model used in Taiwan.

The materials used in developing this chapter consisted of interviews and printed sources. I had the opportunity to speak with the following persons about special education in Taiwan: You-yu Bao, Director, Bureau of International Cultural and Educational Relations, Ministry of Education, Taipei; Mark C. Thelin, Professor Department of Sociology, Tunghai University; Hengtse Tu, Former Dean, College of Arts and Sciences, Tunghai University; Tseng-lu Li, Chairman, Department of Social Work, Tunghai University; Ching Chang Chu Siu, Senior Specialist, Department of Social Affairs, Taiwan Provincial Government; Yung-hwa Chen, Chairman, Department of Educational Psychology and Director of Guidance Institute, National Taiwan Normal University; and Kun-Huei Huang, Director, Graduate Institute of Education, National Normal University.

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CONCLUSION

> Of all fruitless errands, sending a tear to look after a day that is gone is the most fruitless.
> --Charles Dickens

Education in modern Taiwan presents a sharp contrast to the system that now prevails in America. Due to international politics and tensions, limited useable land, and a delicate economic structure dependent on imports of fuel and other raw materials and large exports of finished goods, Taiwan is a society that cannot, in fairness, be compared to other societies. What can be said about Taiwan is that relative to 1945, or even 1975, great progress in quality of life, employment opportunities, and educational vitality are obvious. Comparing Taiwan's legal or political system with what we have in the United States is academic sophistry; stating that its education policy brings the greatest educational opportunities to the largest number of citizens is quite provable by the quantitative and qualitative models we use to measure our own nation's educational vividity. The educational future of Taiwan (as with most nations) is too closely interwoven with international politics and economics to allow for the making of forecasts. That job will be left to philosophers and pundits. Education as a vehicle for self-actualization, societal harmony, and industrial, technical, and human services development is today functioning remarkably well in far Formosa.

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The Smiths currently live in the Eastern Panhandle of West Virginia, which is in the northern Shenandoah Valley. They have one child, a daughter -- Cathay Yvette Nikka Smith -- to whom this study is dedicated.

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